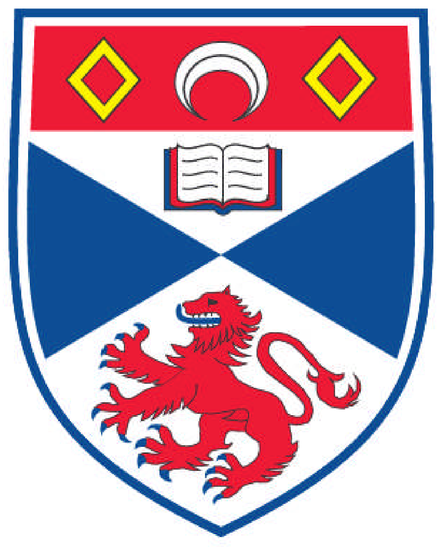
STUDIES IN SCOTTISH LATIN

Christopher A. Upton

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St. Andrews



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by

Christopher A. Upton

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
at the University of St. Andrews

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Parentibus meis conjugique meae.

I, Christopher Allan Upton hereby certify that this thesis which is approximately I00,000 words in length has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

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I was admitted as a research student under Ordinance No. I2 on I October I977 and as a candidate for the degree of Ph.D. on I October I978; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St Andrews between I977 and I980.

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I hereby certify that the candidate has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution and Regulations appropriate to the degree of Ph.D. of the University of St Andrews and that he is qualified to submit this thesis in application for that degree.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines certain aspects of Scottish Latin, particularly in the period 1580-1637.

The first chapter chronicles the endeavours of John Scot of Scotstarvet to compile an anthology of Scottish Latin poetry, based on the unpublished letters to Scot in the NLS. Both the letters and contemporary verse indicate that the project was under way twenty years before the Delitiae was printed and that John Leech was an important influence. Leech's letters to Scot highlight Scot's editorial reticence, confirmed by the alterations in Scotstarvet's own verse. The final product was more a reflection of the taste and ethos of the early 1620s, after which Scot apparently ceased to collect material.

The second chapter documents the attempts to impose a national grammar upon the schools, akin to the Lily-Colet grammar in England. Attempts to provide a radical alternative to Despauter, firstly by a committee and later by Alexander Hume, were inhibited by the inherent conservatism of teaching establishments. The most successful of the new grammars, those by Wedderburn and the Dunbar Rudiments, remained as general introductions to Despauter.

Evidence for the composition of Latin verse in schools and universities, both statutory and manuscript, is assessed in the third chapter. Active involvement in the practice by local authorities influenced the range and extent of verse being written after 1600. The poetry of David Wedderburn of Aberdeen, promoted by the town council, reflects that influence.

The importance of teaching methods upon a poet's future development is most clearly seen in the verse of David Hume, discussed in the fourth chapter. Hume continually re-works and re-evaluates the themes of his adolescent verse,measuring them against the achievements of James VI, whose birth he had earlier celebrated.

The thesis concludes with a check-list of Scots whose Latin verse was printed before 1640.

CONTENTS

Introduction

This thesis, as originally conceived, would have provided a critical analysis of the Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum, or at least of certain of the texts there anthologized, for the two volumes comprise arguably the largest anthology of verse produced by the Renaissance in England or Scotland. The reasons for the abandonment of that project are three-fold. Firstly, the current uncertainties over literary critical techniques made me wary of committing myself to a methodology that might swifly be disenfranchised. Secondly, despite the efforts of the nineteenth-century literary and historical clubs, the student of the later Scottish Renaissance is not possessed of a body of recent critical work upon which to build. This is particularly true of the Latin material: we still require detailed analysis of the cultural and historical background to this phenomenon before we can subject the literature to effective criticism. Thirdly, it became apparent that the Delitiae itself was more expression of the taste of one or perhaps two men than it was representative of Scottish Latin in general. As is argued in the first chapter, the nature of that man's taste and the circumstances surrounding the compilation of the anthology need to be examined before we can begin to discuss its contents.

Again it was felt that any attempt to provide a unified study of Scottish Latin would risk at best unevenness, at worst superficiality. The subject is too large and our present knowledge too limited to attempt such an overview. The bibliographical appendix to this thesis at least provides the names of those exponents upon which such an overview must eventually be based. In the course of compiling it I have, I believe,

examined all the verse printed by Scots in Scotland or England up to 1640 and much of that printed abroad. It is to be regretted that limitations of time and space have prevented me from giving full bibliographical details of all those poems. I hope to print such a guide at some future date.

This thesis is then divided into four studies of certain aspects of Scottish Latin, which, I hope will give some account of the background to the subject. Three of these deal with verse, one with grammatology. However, the latter topic is far from unrelated to the other three, for the attempt to impose uniformity on the teaching of grammar reveals all the latent nationalism, political and ecclesiastical influences that are central themes in the Latin poetry. I notice too in retrospect that one of the poets anthologized in the Delitiae, David Hume of Godscroft, has himself endeavoured to impose uniformity upon this work. Godscroft was taught Latin, both prose and verse, by Andrew Symson, one of the first generation of reformers who attempted to write a grammar for Scotland. His experience, adumbrated perhaps in two of the chapters, is particularized in the last. This last chapter reveals, I hope, a type of critical analysis we may still perform without undue commitment to a school of criticism.

The thesis begins with an examination of the compilation of the Delitiae, valuable evidence for which is contained in the Scotstarvet Papers in the National Library of Scotland. The 1637 text is the most eloquent statement of the concerns that occupied the minds of the Scottish Latin writers and the reasons behind its creation are of paramount importance in assessing that aspect of Scots culture. By comparing this unpublished correspondence with contemporary poems by Arthur Johnston and John Leech we can learn much of the chronology of the construction of the Delitiae and the reasons why it came to prominence in the 1620s. An appreciation of the nationalism implicit in Scotstarvet's work is strengthened by an awareness of the intrinsic regionalism of Renaissance Scottish culture. This is exemplified in the search for a national Latin grammar, discussed in the second chapter. A

centralised system of education, advocated by The Books of Discipline, demanded a uniformity of teaching in the schools. However, the attempts to compose and to impose a national Latin grammar were thwarted by local differences and vested interests which resented or ignored central control.

In what remained essentially a Latinate culture, educational practice and schoolroom techniques were recognised both by national and local authorities as of central importance. The third chapter examines the way poetry was taught and promoted at school and university and the effects of this upon some of the extant verse. However, verse composition was in essence a voluntary activity and writers frequently were induced to compose and publish verse through the patronage of communities or individuals. George Dundas, whose correspondence and poetry is discussed at the end of the chapter, was actively encouraged to write verse by his father, though the chief influence upon his Latin is George Buchanan.

The poetry of David Hume of Godscroft, discussed in the fourth chapter, is the best example of the effects of a training in verse composition upon a major Scottish Latin poet and represents a particularization of themes outlined in chapter three. Hume's adult verse may be seen as a continuous retractio of the poetry he wrote as an undergraduate at St. Andrews. By it he is able to measure his own progress as a poet and the changes in his relationship to and expectations of James VI, to whom he addressed his earliest verse.

The conclusion to this thesis will attempt to draw out certain of the themes of regionalism and nationalism suggested in the first two chapters. Scottish Latinists were highly gregarious and an analysis of the circles in which they moved provides some explanation for the recurrent concerns of Scottish Latin and the direction it took in the early seventeenth century.

Finally, I must express my gratitude to a number of individuals who have assisted, materially, intellectually or spiritually, in the furtherance of this work. My supervisor, Roger Green, read and criticised this thesis

at various stages in its production. Inevitably, for a student of the Scottish Renaissance, I have engaged in long and bewilderingly erudite discussions with John Durkan, who alone knows all this material thoroughly. He is, I know, currently engaged in matters of Scottish grammatology and I await his findings with excitement and trepidation. John Fletcher at the University of Aston has been a constant source of knowledge and inspiration particularly on the educational background. Jim Binns, now of the University of York, has been of great assistance in the field of Neo-Latin. My wife, Fiona Tait, has assisted substantially in my analysis of the Dundas Papers. She also knows more about the St. Leonard's College Orators' Book than anyone and supplied important details concerning that work. My typist, Jean Thompson, has copied cheerfully and efficiently with me and my handwriting.

I would like also to express my gratitude to the fellows of the Shakespeare Institute at the University of Birmingham for permission to use their resources, without which the writing of this thesis would have been substantially more difficult. Robert Smart and Geoffrey Hargreaves at the University Library in St. Andrews have been quick and eager to supply me with information. Finally my thanks to the staff and players of Wolverhampton Wanderers F.C., whose recent decline has allowed me to concentrate more fully on the completion of this thesis. All faults, except perhaps in the latter case, are my own.

CHAPTER ONE. Scotstarvet and the National Anthology

Ecce renascentes Scoti solertia musas
Restituit; totoque inspirat Delphica Phoebo...[I]

In I637 a Dutch printer at Amsterdam published two volumes of Latin poetry, the Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum huius aevi illustrium. It was the greatest contribution by Scotsmen to the Latin literature of Europe after Buchanan and was compiled and sponsered essentially through the labours of one man, Sir John Scot of Scotstarvet. The surviving letters to Scot allow us to reconstruct the progress of its compilation and to revise the chronology surrounding it. This chapter will examine those letters directly concerned with the Delitiae or with the production of Latin verse by Scots, since the former project clearly developed from the latter. Scotstarvet's correspondents included writers of verse, wishing to show their work to an enlightened patron, scholars on the Continent cognisant of the movements and publications of potential contributors and those directly concerned with the printing itself. They show Scot taking advantage of a large circle of acquaintances, both in Scotland and abroad, to keep him informed of recent developments in the field and reinstate him as the prime mover in the creation of a national anthology during the I620s.

Nevertheless Scotstarvet was not alone in wishing to see the Latin poets of Scotland saved from oblivion. John Leech, whose letters to him are discussed in some detail, was involved at an early stage in the collecting of material. Indeed one poem by Leech suggests that he recognized the need for such a collection even before Scot and saw Arthur Johnston as a possible editor or 'princeps poetarum'. In fact Johnston did not become involved until later in the enterprise

and a number of poems show him urging Scot to complete the work. Finally, he seems to have undertaken the task of proof-reading the volumes in Amsterdam. Thus the Delitiae was the result of intermittent collecting over a period of twenty years, a view supported by an analysis of the Delitiae itself. There would seem to be a distinct movement away from the selective anthologizing of certain poems in the earlier period to the wholesale importation of complete works in the latter stages.

The Scotstarvet Papers in the National Library of Scotland contain over I50 letters and poems addressed to Scot over a period of perhaps forty years. There is one letter in Scots and a handful in French but the overwhelming majority are in Latin, still the language of cultural exchange.[2] The letters have been quarried intermittently. Those associated with the publication of the maps of Scotland have been printed by Moir and Skelton.[3] Geddes and Leask summarize some of those by Leech,[4] while the letters of Casper Barlaeus are in his Epistolarum Liber (Amsterdam, I667).[5] The importance of the rest has long been recognized but little acted upon.[6] Scot's scrupulousness with his correspondence (at least between I6I9 and the I640s) has preserved an almost unique account of how literary patronage functioned in the early seventeenth century and how a Renaissance anthology could be compiled. No one may discuss the composition of the Delitiae without consulting them. Apart from Leask, David Masson would appear to be the last critic to have published findings based on them in his biography of William Drummond of Hawthornden.[7] Most surprisingly of all, T.G. Snoddy wrote his biography of Sir John Scot without using them and his account

of Scot's literary endeavours is not to be trusted.[8] I offer the following brief summary with the knowledge that it is highly provisional and awaits more precise scrutiny of the material. In particular, the letters of John Leech contain invaluable literary criticism and information not mentioned by Geddes and Leask. Both they and Masson delved into the Papers in search of chronological data which, given the absence of dating on almost forty of the pieces, is a precarious business. The editors of the Musa Latina Aberdonensis do not seem to have examined the letters written by William Barclay which reveal much as to his whereabouts and pursuits in the early 1620s.

What, of course, they do not reveal is the extent of the assistance Scotstarvet received from acquaintances nearer at hand. It cannot be doubted that he received advice and, more tangibly, copies of texts, from his brother-in-law William Drummond. As the catalogue of his own library makes clear, Drummond owned a collection unrivalled in Scotland for its Renaissance works.[9] To what extent Scotstarvet availed himself of this material cannot be gauged from the Papers. Bradner probably exaggerates the role played by Drummond in the enterprise.[10] Among his manuscripts there are three copies of Henry Anderson's poem 'Amaryllis ingrata. Musarum querimonia', written on the occasion of the King's visit to Perth in 1617, but not included in The Muses Welcome.[11] Perhaps the lady protested too much for that royal volume. It seems likely that Scotstarvet used this source when he printed Anderson's verse in the Delitiae.[12] Drummond also possessed manuscript copies of poems by Melville and Hercules Rollock.[13] It is possible that Scot borrowed the latter but there must have been a larger collection of poems by Rollock, most of whose works had not been printed,

probably among Rollock's papers given to Robert Boyd of Trochrig by Mark Duncan.[14] Scot was certainly in correspondence with the latter in 1639.[15] Melville's verse was widely circulated and a selection was printed in 1620. It would be fruitless to speculate as to how much printed material was borrowed from Drummond's library, especially since Drummond's donation to Edinburgh University Library was made in 1627 when his friend was well advanced in the business of compilation. Given this lack of concrete information on the home front, it is curious that some critics have assumed Drummond to be Scot's chief supplier and informant. The Papers tell another story, or at least reveal another dimension to it.

Scot's first experience of the publication of verse was in editing the Hodoeporicon of his cousin, John Scot.[16] Since Charles Rogers' introduction to the Staggering State and Snoddy's biography are hopelessly inaccurate at this point, we should perhaps stress that this hexameter poem was composed, not for the King's departure in 1617, but on his journey south in 1603. Since Scotstarvet writes that it was composed 'annos iam quindecim in pluteis scriniisque meis', it was presumably written before John Scot's departure for France at this time.[17] In April 1604 he was corresponding with Robert Boyd from Rochelle, where he had taken up a teaching post in succession to his fellow countryman, George Thomson, who was returning to London. It was here that the young man died of plague, as his cousin tells us in the Staggering State. Thus his salute to the union of the crowns had remained in manuscript for around sixteen years. No doubt Scotstarvet had seen the King's return to his native land as a suitable occasion on which to print this posthumous tribute to his relation's ability. Whether Scotstarvet had

possessed a copy of the poem from the time of its inception, or had gained access to it through the poet's father, William Scot of Elie, or even via Robert Boyd himself, remains uncertain. Both the Hodoeporicon and an epitaphium for Elizabeth (on sig. C3r of the 1619 volume) reflect the fiercely crusading tone of Melvillian Scotland, out of character with the sentiments of The Muses Welcome.[18]

However, if the Hodoeporicon is given pride of place in the volume, it occupies only a third of it, the rest being given over to the Schediasmata of the editor.[19] The title and contents of the second part of the book suggests a work of calculated amateurism, typical of the time and of the author. Scotstarvet self-effacingly admits the same in a concluding couplet 'Ad Lectorem':

Haud facile augeri possunt mea Carmina, Lector,
Si bona, si mala sint, sunt ea multa nimis.[20]

These poems seem to have been composed over a considerable length of time. If the title 'Somnium, 1603' reflects the date of composition, this elegy was written while Scot was yet a student at St. Andrews.[21] According to Rogers and Snoddy, he enrolled at St. Leonard's in 1603 as 'Iohannes Scot cursus sui anno tertio'.[22] The epitaph for Henri quatre, who died in 1610, would also appear to be early.[23] A chronogram attached to the tumulus for James Kinneir dates it as 1617.[24] In this year also was composed 'Mensis Iulii Fatalia', celebrating his knighthood.[25] The subject matter of the poems show Scot's commitment to the muse, but also the difficulties of devoting sufficient energy to that pursuit:

Mens mea tot variis distringitur undique curis,
Incumbitque humeris sarcina tanta meis;
Ut mihi non liceat viridantis culmina Pindi
Visere, & excelsa figere in aede pedem.[26]

Elsewhere, Scot offers encouragement to fellow poets, John Leech, David Mitchell and Henry Danskin,[27] but in another epigram writes 'Nil dictum iam quod non dictum prius'.[28] The metre of the poems (elegiac) and frequently their matter testify to Scot's enthusiasm for Ovid as a model. One epigram, 'Nasonis Amor', is affectionately addressed to the Roman poet, Whilst another, 'Foemina' stems from his reading of the Metamorphoses.[29] The epistles to and from John Leech similarly show that affiliation. It may partly explain Scotstarvet's admiration for Arthur Johnston, 'the Scottish Ovid'.

The majority of these verses, together with the Hodoeporicon, were reprinted in the second volume of the Delitiae. The Schediasmata there appear in a considerably altered state, the nature of which may provide us with some clues as to Scotstarvet's editorial practice and changing taste. The Hodoeporicon, on the other hand, is simply a reprinting of the earlier edition, without any emendations. As the Staggering State tells us, the young poet had been sent by his father, William Scot, to Rochelle 'to profess humanity, and there died of the plague.'[30] Editorial reticence on this work may be a tribute to the young man; so might its very inclusion.

Such was the professionalism of the 1637 collection and Scotstarvet's increased commitment that a number of the unrelated poems were reassembled as Elegiae I-V. Perhaps his earliest poem, 'Somnium, 1603',

originally composed as a self-addressed strena, appears in a much altered state as Elegia I. The concluding aside to Janus was jettisonned and the whole poem tightened and re-shaped. The lengthy opening epistle to Leech has been broken into two separate poems (Elegiae II-III). His extended version of a Greek epigram by Posidippus appears with minor alterations as Elegia IV,[31] while Elegia V comprises the 'Responsio ad Leochaei epistolam'. A dozen or so poems have been discarded for the later selection. They include a couplet, 'Papa', which Scot may have thought too extreme for the projected European readership.[32] Although he exculpated himself, there was plenty in the Delitiae from Melville and Hume to offend Catholic taste. It would simply not have been possible to eliminate from a representative collection what was a chief motivating force in the composition of Scottish verse. Gone also is the pessimistic 'Nil dictum',[33] while the epigram 'Roma amoribus plena' is re-titled 'In poetas huius aevi'.[34] An attempt to generalise and widen the appeal of the selection is seen in the removal of a number of more personal or individual poems. Where possible, this line has been taken in some of the verse that has been retained. In the 'Tumulus Godefredi Vander-Hagen' reference to the student's Dutch nationality ('Batavi') has been replaced by 'patrii'.[35] The line 'Haec ubi spumiferas Fortha resorbet aquas' from the fifth elegy is replaced by 'Qua Bodotriacis Maja superbit aquis'.[36] Here the Classical location, taken from Tacitus, would surely be more widely understood outside Scotland than the vernacular name.[37] Interestingly, David Hume made the same alteration in adapting his youthful Expectatio for the third part of Daphn-Amaryllis.[38] However, this tendency cannot be overstressed, for in all the obituary verses, Scot has retained, or

introduced, the name of the deceased. In the first epitaphium for Elizabeth Heriot, the phrase 'formae haud aequiparanda tuae' is amended 'formae at nil Heriota'.[39] This may partly be explained as an attempt to remove the gerundive, which is repeated in the epigram to Henry Danskin, but the replacement of 'perempta' by 'Heriota' in the second epitaph would seem to show a desire to particularize the poem.[40] For once, the earlier version appears to be the superior:

Docta, decens, foecunda, hilaris, formosa, pudica,
Hic praematura morte perempta cubat.

Apart from the 'Somnium, 1603' and 'Foemina' the alterations are less than radical, being simply refinements of language and expression. What is more surprising is that Scotstarvet has added no new poems to what was already in print in 1619. This from a man much involved in the collection and promotion of Latin verse in the intervening years. Thus, if we accept the date of Scot's birth as about 1586, his career as a writer of Latin poetry began in his late teens and was over by his early thirties. In fact, this is not an unusual time-span for Latin composition by an occasional writer, especially when his commitment was to the Ovidian verse of early adulthood. Only does it surprise us when we consider Scot's single minded patronage, (almost single-handed), of the subject.

Scotstarvet does not seem to have been a particularly confident writer of Latin. A letter from John Leech at the time of the preparation of Schediasmata shows that Scot had sought his advice on some of his poems, but Leech, in a harassed and uncooperative mood, had suggested that he try the King, John Ray or Henry Danskin.[41] Later, in June 1619,

he had relented, and offered copious criticism.[42] These suggestions deserve more attention, but may well have arrived too late for the author's purposes. Leech's letters to Scot seem to indicate that the former was too frequently embroiled in his own misfortunes and writings to be of long-standing service as a literary counsellor. A letter from the Dundonian humanist, Peter Goldman, shows that Scot turned elsewhere for support, though again there were delays:

> Poemata tua, eques ornatissime, quae in latebris musaei mei delitescebant, tandem se non quaerenti obtulerunt : neque enim talis gemma diutius celari potuit. Dulcia sunt et elegantia.
> Non deest ingenium, quod lectorem pollicetur, non genius qui aeternitatem spondet. Durum sane mihi imposuisti onus cum tam cultas elegias incudi redderem rogasti.
> Ne tamen imperium tuum defugere velle videar, cum Musarum mystae immane quantum debemus, censorem alicubi egi. Versus nonnullos non ut maculosos, sed ut minus honestos praeterii. Quaedam etiam immutavi, non quod minus viderentur sed ut tibi morem gererem.[43]

The letter is undated but in all likelihood comes from the early 1620s. The reference to 'cultas elegias' suggests that Scot-starvet had already converted some of the poems into the five elegies as they appear in 1637. As we shall see, these alterations were undertaken on the advice of John Leech. Clearly Scot was still not entirely happy with the result, or at least wanted a third opinion. We may forgive Goldman his humility and hesitancy, for the correction of the work of one's social superior was an awkward task. Nevertheless the

minor changes, over and above the fundamental revision proposed by Leech, would be just the kind of correction that the Schediasmata underwent before the second printing. Not possessed of the details of Goldman's fine adjustments, we must look for them outside the major alterations fully outlined by Leech.

John Leech's criticisms of the Schediasmata are contained in a letter written at 'Motha', dated 13 June 1619.[44] Leask, surprisingly, passes over this letter, although he records two others sent from the same place during this month.[45] Leech had left London for Paris, probably at the end of 1617. The nature of his studies there has not previously been ascertained. However this letter adds a little to his biography. He thanks Scot for tacitly correcting an error in his own verse, in placing the Rhine 'inter hespereos amnes'. An elementary error, confesses Leech:

> quod vitium esse quivis qui vel statim a limine Geographicam salutavit, deprehendere posset. Pro hoc ego tibi multum debeo. Maxime quum non ita pridem illam disciplinam cum reliquis mathematicis percursarim Parisiis.[46]

Scot's tacit emendation was in the list of western rivers in his elegy addressed to Leech which opens the Schediasmata in the 1619 version.[47] This poem reworks certain of Leech's own variations on the theme of the abandonment of love poetry, whether denied or accepted. The first poem of Leech's second book of elegies was itself an answer to Scot's elegy, but such is the interconnection of their verse that we must be wary of too rigid a chronological ordering. Leech's original mistake has now disappeared and we cannot be certain of where it had originally occurred.

As is thus evident Scotstarvet already had a manuscript copy of Leech's poems, probably the five books of Eroticon.[48]

Leech's letter constitutes an important piece of practical criticism and merits detailed discussion, for, although we possess many a tract of Renaissance literary theory, we are not blessed with many examples of discussion between poets as to how their work might be improved. This is by necessity the case in that we are presented with the public manifestations of poetry, little enough with the private uncertainties that lie behind them. Leech himself makes this clear near the beginning of his discussion. Having lauded what he considers to have been composed by Scot's genius or dictated by Apollo or the Muses, he writes:

> Verum enim vero quia Momum, videbam in his aliquid (ut in ipsis solet diis) notantem, non potui non tibi statim quicquid illud sit communicare. Habe enim sed (ut omnia reliqua) in secretiorem aurem. Soli enim tibi haec scribo. Adeo ut scripta quum a te perlecta fuerint, ne ulli immolescant, postmodo ignibus tradantur.[49]

The intention that the letter should be destroyed explains why Leech wrote again the following day, more publicly describing his own state and the machinations confronting him. We must be grateful to Scot for not following his friends advice, for, although his poems are not of outstanding value, the machinery of composition will always be so.

Leech was probably in possession of a manuscript of the

Schediasmata. Although we cannot be certain that it was not the printed text, all the evidence seems to suggest this. Firstly, Leech nowhere refers to a printed work, and indeed, all his criticism seems to stem from a desire to remove errors before such a commitment, or at least allows for the possibility of revision. Secondly, Scotstarvet's poems will have had to have gone to press very early in 1619 for him to have sent Leech a copy, since Leech's response was far from immediate. He opens the letter thus:

> Quamvis neque prioribus neque postremis
> rogasses ut iudicium meum (vir clarissime)
> de scriptis tuis exponerem, immemor tamen
> mei omnino fuissem, si ad hanc operam
> amicam me ipse non protruderem.[50]

Scot, then, had written twice since his request to Leech to criticize his writings. Moreover, we know from his verse epistle to Scot, sent from Paris in January 1618 that Scot too had been tardy in letter-writing:

> Cur ita ab officio longumcessavit avito?
> Cur tua nunc raro littera nomen habet?
> Cedere men' possum tota tibi mente fugatum?
> Aut nunquam immemorem te fore (Scote) mei?[51]

However Leech was undoubtedly aware of his friend's intention to print the poems, and, no doubt, also realised that his own suggested corrections would be too late to be of assistance. Towards the end of the letter he writes:

> Caeterum, mi Maecenas, si quid postea praelo
> commiseris sibi, ad me prius transmittas

rogo. Nosti me esse non Leochaeum, sed

alterum Scotum.[52]

Though Scotstarvet was unable to make use of Leech's suggestions in 1619, he did have the opportunity of revaluing his poetry when he reprinted the majority eighteen years later. It is the additional interest of observing the eventual outcome that makes the letter so interesting.

We have already noticed that Leech pointedly addresses his remarks to Scot's 'private ear':

Atque haec hactenus, ultra quam fortassis expetisses.

Si qua iure injurius fui, id quum tibi soli immolescat

nec publica sit culpa, ut ignoscas rogo.[53]

It was a long-standing tradition in the circulation of Latin verse before printing, for colleagues of the poet to append to the manuscript tributes or comments upon the material, both in prose and verse.[54] Such opinions, be they even in ostensibly private letters, were often printed along with the work itself. Leech is clearly expressing at the outset that his comments are not to be of this order, and that Scotstarvet must be prepared for home truths and rigorous exculpation. Nevertheless, Leech is conscious of the danger of crushing his friend's budding enthusiasm under a weight of disheartening criticism. An interesting example occurs in Leech's analysis of Scotstarvet's elegy referred to above. Leech's initial reaction is 'elegiam intactam relinquere'. However:

Aristarchus retraxit : hemistichioque Ovidiano ita

admonuit 'Anne oculos tu Parisolus habes?' Sed ut paucis

hominis censuram absolvam, en, accipe.[55]

Leech's more critical alter ego suggests that the poem be divided into two:

rationes quae inducant hae sunt; aliud in initio, aliud in medio et fine tractatur. Praeterea quod mihi inscribatur elegia initio statui quod indecorum videri solet Panthea appellatur: ac postea interiectis quam plurimis distichis ego.[56]

Scotstarvet followed the advice of 'Aristarchus' and turned the poem into two elegies, addressing one to Panthea (the recipient of Leech's amatory verse) and the other to Leech himself.[57] The theme of both is the anticipated rejection by Leech of erotic verse, whether for more respectable subjects:

Haec cole, sed valeant Cypris, lascivaque amantum
Basia, sunt genio cuncta minora tuo,
Aut tu sublimi volita super alta cothurno:
Aut cave Meonia bella tremenda tuba.

or for more profitable academic study:

Consulere Hippocratem, vel docti scripta Galeni,
Materies studiis aptior illa tuis.
Vel tibi si placeant priscorum volve sophorum
Dogmata : ab ingeniis eruta cuncta bonis.[58]

Such a change of mind coincided with Leech's embarkation for the Continent, and the poem contained an academic travelogue, similar to William Barclay's 'Ad Lessum'.[59] Anticipating his colleague's departure, Scot begins by asking Panthea how she will fare without her lover-poet. Scot expands upon the Classical theme of the ageing mistress (Horace, Odes, I, 25), but then turns surprisingly to a commendation of marital love:

Nonne fuit satius thalami carpsisse iugalis

Gaudia, dum tenero in pectore fervor erat:

Et placidos circa natos vidisse : decorum

Et iuvenem tepido detinuisse sinu?[60]

At this point, as Scotstarvet embarks upon the theme of carpe diem, Leech suggests the cut be made, 'equidem facillime potes, si conclusionem aliquam primae acutam addideris'.[61] Scot concluded the elegy with the lines:

Utere praesenti, Nemesis iustissima vindex

Tarda licet, laeso semper Amore venit.[62]

This was not the happiest of solutions, for the solemnity of the conclusion was hardly in tune with the mock seriousness of an address to another's imaginary mistress. However, Scot had already lost control of the poem's mood and the new ending was at least compatible with the Horatian tone of the lines immediately preceding.

Leech commences by dividing the collection into three 'ut faciliori postea methodo unumquodque schediasmatum adgrediar'.[63] These he calls 'divina', 'humana' and 'adultera'. Of the third group he writes uncompromisingly:

Tertiam seriem quam adulterorum esse dixi,

(quod non tua, nec a tam praestanti ingenio

provenisse arbitrer, quippe quum (nisi me Sensus

eorum fallet) neque Musas, neque Apollinem

tuum sapient) occuparent 3a illa reliqua scilicet

Pantheion, Φως μετα Σκοτους et Ad amicum,

quae utinam non tua unquam fuissent (my italics).[64]

We are not surprised to see that Scotstarvet discarded all three for the 1637 edition. Of one other poem Leech wrote 'nolim hoc epigramma inter tua exstare' and this too was radically altered for the later edition.[65] Leech felt that its subject, 'Foemina', might be taken as reflecting Scot's own experience and thus inculpating his wife. For the Delitiae, Scotstarvet re-titled the epigram 'Foemina ex Ovidii Metamorph. libris', thereby de-personalising it.[66] Leech's other suggestion, that the epithet garrula might more suitably be attached to cornix than to pica (presumably on Ovidian grounds), was not followed by Scot, who retained the phrase 'pica loquax'.

Leech lists the following poems as members of the 'divine' group: the epistle to himself, the epigram to Danskin, the second of two obituary verses for Van Hagen and James Kinneir,'Venus et Vulcanus', 'Nihil Novum','Roma Amoribus Plena','Foemina' the epigram to David Mitchell, 'Ad Amatores', 'Mensis Iulii Fatalis' and the concluding two couplets. On the epigram 'Ad Henricum Danskinum' Leech makes no comment, and Scot reprinted it without changes. The epitaph for Vander Hagen is an account of the reaction of the Muses and the Olympian deities to his death:

> Hae liquere suos fontes, et culmina Pindi,
> Et laurum, et blandam spernit Apollo lyram,
> Pan frangit calamos, Charites sua pectora plangunt
> Nec cessant madidas ungue notare genas:
> Mars Geticum ponit clipeum, rumpitque sarissam,
> Dilaceratque comas flava Minerva suas..[67]

Leech suggests that the tenses of the verbs might be changed and even indicates how this could be achieved metrically. The lines would then read:

Et laurum, et blandam sprevit Apollo lyram,
Pan fregit calamos, Charites planxere lacertos,
Coepere et madidas ungue notare genas:
Mars Geticum posuit clipeum, rupitque sarissam,
Saeviit in laxas flava Minerva comas....[68]

He goes on:

Sed equidem absolutum hoc epitaphium reddidisses
si eodem ordine quam in penultimo disticho
singuli recitati sunt in prioribus locasses.
Harmonia enim suavissima fuisset. Verum hoc per
te inter otia poteris.[69]

The advice is undoubtedly sound and in accord with Renaissance views of artifice and the ordering of material. 'Otia', however, was one thing Scotstarvet did not possess, and rather than spend time re-working it, Scot dropped the poem altogether. Instead he reprinted his other 'Tumulus' for Vander Hagen, again taking note of Leech's advice.[70] This other poem, however, contains alterations not suggested by Leech. Given Scot's own uncertainty in changing his (or anyone else's) poetry, we may suspect that these were the minor adjustments extorted from Peter Goldman:[71] sculpta for caesa in the second line, Babylonis for Babylonia in the third and so on. The final distich had originally read: 'Tu cape Phaebigenum modulamina tristia vatum,/Haec sunt exequiis praemia digna tuis'. Leech suggested, 'Phaebigena exequiis quae mage grata (vel digna) tuis', as containing more acumen.[72] What Leech meant by acumen seems again to have been the parallelism of meaning, of the final pentameter reflecting back on the previous idea, rather than appending an additional sentiment. The final version, whether revised

by Goldman or by Scot himself, was a compromise between the two: 'Quae magis exequiis munera digna tuis'.

On the verses for James Kinneir, Leech offered no comment, and the poem was reprinted unaltered, as was 'Venus et Vulcanus'.[73] The couplet 'Nil Novum' concerned Aurelius Cotta, the profligate of Tacitus, Annals,XIII: 'Nil sub sole novum dicit sibi Cotta videri,/ Dum tegitur lacera veste, humilique casa'. Again Leech suggested integrating the second line more fully into the epigram by replacing lacera by veteri: 'sic enim ad novum alluditur'.[74] But again Scotstarvet was not inclined to follow his friend's advice. Certainly the pentameter, though neat, would have lost much of its visual quality, and would not have gained from the additional alliteration. The 1637 version which replaces humili by ruente suggests that Scot wished to preserve and augment the visual impression.[75]

Leech concludes his discussion of the first group with a less than endearing swipe at two recipients of Scot's epigrams, David Mitchell and Henry Danskin.[76] Both epigrams are in the tradition of poems requesting poems, admonishing the schoolmaster and the minister for their silence. Leech has nothing to say regarding the Latin, but adds:

> ingratis te laborare operamque dare, quod voluit
> digito intento in Michaelem et Danskinum ostendit,
> et sane frustra laudantur qui aut par pari reddere
> nolint aut nequeant. Tu ergo deinde hoc pro certo habe:
> vitam maximum deorum donum esse; maximum
> poetarum, quod si tecum perpenderis noti cuivis
> tubicen eris, poetis est deos proximosque diis

laudare et hymnis prosequi, non vilia admirari.
Heic quum subito invidum Momum excepissem,
explosi, et ad secundam seriem me contuli.[77]

The implication of Leech's message seem to be twofold. Firstly, it was not in Scot's interests to praise the unworthy (vilia), that is, two men, albeit friends, below his station. It was the duty of poets to support those above them. Certainly, Leech's own personal poetry is evidence of that belief. Secondly, in accordance with the same precept, Danskin's and Mitchell's reputation as poets was vitiated by their unwillingness or inability to answer Scotstarvet, either as equal or superior. As we will see, both men did later return the compliment, though Mitchell's reply remains in manuscript. It is interesting that both Mitchell and Godfried Vander Hagen should have gained the reputation of poets, unless such a claim be made on the evidence of a single poem; Godfried's for verses in Charisteria and Mitchell for a poem in Leech's Iani Sperantis Strena. No doubt there was much verse circulating in manuscript at St. Andrews around 1617, of which we now possess only a little.[78]

In the second, humana series, Leech includes the elegy for Panthea, 'Somnium', an epigram 'Ad Saxonem Mnemo-didasculum', the first obituary poem for Vander Hagen, epitaphia for Elizabeth and Anne Heriot, verses on the death of Henri IV and a number of other epigrams, including the verses 'Ex Graeco'.[79] Scot retained about half of these poems for the 1637 printing.

Leech's suggestion for the division of the Panthea poem we have already discussed. Perhaps as a result of this Scot decided to

collect together the longer poems as Elegies I-V. On the 'Somnium', which formed the first elegy of this group, Leech has but one comment to make, preferring Paphio to duro in the line 'Subjiciam duro tum mea colla jugo'.[80] He was, no doubt, aware that he himself had written 'Qui dat Acidalio colla premenda jugo' in the first elegy of Eroticon[81] lib. 5 and 'Paphias... flammas' in the fifth.[82] As we shall see, Leech was acutely aware of the dangers of plagiarism. However the poem, as we have it in 1637, was subject to many other alterations than that in line 18. The opening couplet, for example, had read: Stellantes nox picta sinus mihi membra sopore/Vinxerat, in molli procubuique thoro'.[83] In the Delitiae they read: 'Stellantes nox picta sinus mihi lumina somno/Vinxerat, et molli sunt data membra thoro'.[84] It would be difficult to say exactly what provoked those emendations. Perhaps Goldman, or Scot, thought the verb procumbo inappropriate for the description of sleep. Having removed that word, there was a wealth of classical examples withwhich to make the metrical adjustments: lumina somno and membra thoro are both Virgilian echoes, as is Noctis erat of the following line. The loss of membra sopore is, perhaps, regrettable, for it provides the most tangible link with what must have been in Scot's mind, the description of dreams in Lucretius IV. The poem itself is a reversal of the theme of the epistle to Leech: the relinquishing of academic pursuits for that of love. Pamphilis appears to the writer in a dream, recommending that he quit the pursuit of learning and become a camp-follower of Venus:

> Quid iuvat aeternum sectari Palladis artes,
> Pieridum nimium quid iuvat antra sequi?[85]

The writer's subsequent resolve is to submit to the Paphian yoke, yet he adds, somewhat ambiguously:

> An frustra teneros studiis consumpsimus annos?
>
> Tinximus et Clariis labra tenella vadis?
>
> Castra sequar Phoebi, dum spiritus hos reget artus,
>
> Et dabo Pieriis thura Sabæa focis.[86]

Scotstarvet would appear to be playing on the ambiguous position of Apollo and the Muses, as patrons of learning and of the poetic arts. However, he has not convincingly orchestrated these contradictory themes, and the poem is a curious mixture of earnestness and irony. As a manifesto for erotic composition it was entirely unsuccessful, for Scot wrote no more amatory verse and indeed elsewhere (in the 'Panthea' poems) turns the imagery of sensual subjugation against its authors. By dating the poem, 'Somnium anno 1603', Scot is surely placing it as the dream of an undergraduate, to be treated accordingly. The opening verb vinxerat suggests that Pamphilis is addressing a literally captive audience, and that the language of subjugation has already begun. Yet, so riddled is the poem with ambiguities, that we may be closer to Scotstarvet in these verses than any biographical study will ever take us. At this early date, Scot's resolve to follow the muses (the poem was originally, we recall, a new year resolution) was itself a commitment to love poetry.[87] That Scot was congenitally unsuited to such a persona may not have undermined the resolve, though it did limit the results. He was unable to convert his admiration of Ovid ('Nasonis Amor') into a corresponding superfluity of amorous utterings. Early seventeenth century St. Andrews was perhaps no place for such dalliance. We have already suggested that this Ovidian bravura was

undermined at its outset. Within fifteen or so years it had collapsed, and Scot's poetic resolve was subsumed in the role of beneficent patron. It may never have been sufficiently stressed that the frustrated poet may often make the most encouraging Maecenas.

On the obituary verses for Elizabeth Heriot, Leech ventures the comment:

> miror eam non nominatam. Meretricia soleo
> ergo haec anonymia vocare epitaphia... Nom-
> inare ecce potes in illo versu, causa haec
> tristitiae: sic pro dictione formosa, Heriota
> dicere poteris (my italics).[88]

Scotstarvet accepted Leech's advice, although rather than lose the complimentary epithet decora he inserted Heriot's name in the following line, discarding the redundant perempta. In the longer epitaph the phrase haud aequiparanda was replaced by at nil Heriota, thus avoiding repetition of the gerundive in the epigram to Danskin. Leech had intended her name to appear in the line: 'Causa haec laetitiae tristi-aeque tuae', thus unbalancing the bitter-sweet quality of the lament. Leech seems to have been unable to appreciate the deeper subtleties of the marital bond thus broken, a poignant theme close to Scotstarvet's heart. Scot had concluded the poem: 'Et tandem longo clausit tua lumina somno,/Ne quod ames nimio perge perire modo', referring to the fidelity of Artemisia and Portia. Leech preferred the ending 'anxia cura viri, nullaque cura tui', a neat but heartless conclusion. Scot's solution was, as often, a compromise; accepting that the pentameter was not, grammatically, the strongest of lines, he was unwilling to incorporate the second half of Leech's alternative. The 1637 text reads: 'Anxia

cura viri, sollicitusque dolor', an inoffensive but tame conclusion.[89]

Coincidentally, the subject of Scot's epitaphium for Henri IV is the subversion of marriage by 'pronuba Iuno'. In the 1619 volume the poem had closed: 'Hinc mihi causa necis miserandae pronuba Iuno, /Hinc moriens patriam tingo cruentus humum'. Leech considered that although the conceit of the epigram accurately recalled Henri's reputation as Hercule Gallois, it also carried the converse implication that Hercules himself was French. He pressed for the replacement of Scot's typically visual final line by 'Amph itryonidae talis et ante fuit', to ensure that the classical conceit be kept as such. The criticism may seem unduly circumspect towards the nationalisation of myth, but Scot accepted the comment nonetheless. With a number of further changes in pharaseology (again, perhaps, suggested by Goldman) the epigram was reprinted in 1637.[90]

Finally, Leech writes of one line from the verses 'Ex Graeco':

> quem aut ego tibi, aut tu mihi, aut uterque
> alteri surripuit, scilicet: Somne papavereis
> frontem redimite corollis. Velim aut ego
> aut tu ergo dicamus: Somne soporatam
> redimite papavere frontem. Si tibi prius
> placet mihi posterius arridebit (my italics).[91]

The line occurs at the beginning of Leech's poem 'Lusus Amatorius basiorum' in Musae Priores.[92] Either Leech is being highly tactful in his accusation of plagiarism, or we must conclude that both men were working in close proximity during the composition of Leech's Panthea. Leech recalls having read 'in Hyperchritico Scaligeri',

that is in the sixth book of Scaliger's Poetices Libri Septem, of two almost identical passages in the Eclogues of Calpurnius Siculus and Nemesianus.[93] Leech transcribes the two passages in question, although not from Scaliger's text, 'nam apud me non est inter meos libellos, apud te esse scio'. Scotstarvet may compare their work, Leech writes, 'in corpore illo poetarum qui apud te est'.

By 1619, stimulated maybe by the publication of the Hodoeporicon and Schediasmata and of a collection of poems by his friend, John Leech, Scotstarvet seems already to have been taking an interest in the poetry of other Scots. It may well be that the real 'prime mover' in this direction was the royal tour of 1617, during which an enormous quantity of Latin verse was produced, both in The Muses Welcome and independently.[94] Scot, at least, had good cause to remember the visit, for he was knighted in the course of it, although he does not appear to have contributed to that effusion of patriotic sentiment. His early interest in poetry was less as a publisher than as a dilettante collector like his colleague William Drummond. Letters to him from 1618 to 1620 give the impression that he was becoming an unofficial 'clearing house' for literary endeavour, informed of various events and movements on the Continent. In May, 1618 John Leech wrote from Paris : 'Accipe etiam quod de Machione D'ance Gualtarus Donaldsonius composuit carmen, quod apud quendam non ita abhinc diu inveni'.[95] This, and other material, he promises to send as soon as possible. A letter from Joachim Morsius sent from London in November of 1619 acknowledges moves in this direction, and refers in passing to unpublished poems by Buchanan, 'Michaelisque Scoti monumentis'.[96] He also recommends the Μελετηματα Ὑποθεια of

Thomas Seget (Hanover, 1607).[97] This collection of verses, mostly epigrams, 'de illustrorum virorum interitu' follow Scot's own work in the Delitiae. Their subject matter, the vesification of incidents chiefly taken from Roman history, illustrates a typical trend in Renaissance Latin writing - the reworking of the kind of themes and exercises practised at school.

By September 1618, when John Leech corresponded with him from Thouars, near Saumur, there seems to be no dcubt that Scotstarvet was collecting poetry by Scots:

> Vidi Parisiis poema Iacobi Macalonis Scoti doctoris medici, et medicinae Pisae prcfesscris ncn ita pridem publici... sed quum author non aliud apud se exemplar haberet non potui ad te mittere: audio etiam de aliis; quorum si opera offendero, ad te statim ibunt.[98]

The Anthophoria Xeniorum of James McCulloch, printed at Florence in 1617, appear in the second volume of the Delitiae.[99] If all Leech's promises were fulfilled, he was clearly a major contributor to the Delitiae, though not of his own work. But such is our lack of evidence, and his own reputation, that we may doubt that they were. Scot was in the process of building up a considerable circle of European acquaintances and informants. Justinus von Assche in Saumur had heard, probably from Leech, of Scot's interest in 'poetarum studium, delicias tuas'.[100] The letter would appear to date from 1619 or the early 1620's since it refers to the former's brief sojourn in Paris. One cannot be sure whether the reference to 'delicias' is simply coincidental, or

an early indication of the projected magnum opus. Von Assche, like the editor himself, found that 'studia graviora' interrupted his pursuit of the nine muses.

Three letters from 1626 and 1627 show that Scotstarvet was negotiating terms with his printer in the Netherlands more than ten years before the collection finally went to press. In August 1626, Willem Blaeu broaches the subject with him:

> Vir nobilissime, mentem tuam de Scotiae Poetarum editione a Domino Walleo accepi, sed cum annis hisce praeteritis Poetas et Historicos veteres manuali hac forma ediderim, ut sunt Martialis et Val. Max. quos hisce adiunxi, quae quidem (ni fallor) etiam tibi placebit, eos eadem forma iisdemque typis excudere magis mihi animus esset; si itaque tibi placeant, qua offers conditione illos imprimam, ut nimirum pro 100 Iacobicis uti dicunt veteribus, sive 1200 florenis hujus nostrae monetae, tibi mittam 200 exemplaria, sed ea lege ne magnitudinem deliciarum Gallorum Poetarum excedant; sin autem multum excesserint pro rata magnitudinis idem juvamen a te peto, nihil si parum Copiam, omnem ordinem, Titulum, Dedicationem etc. expectabo.[101]

Willem Janszoon Blaeu had built his reputation upon the careful editing and printing of classical texts in the small format, later

made famous by the Elzevir press at Leiden.[102] He printed Martial 'ex Museo Petri Scriverii' at Amsterdam in 1621. J. Keuning's list of his non-cartographical works, as revised by Marijke Donkersloot-de Vrij, does not record the publication of Valerius Maximus. However, since that catalogue also overlooks the Delitiae this may be an oversight. No Valerius Maximus is recorded in the Catalogus Librorum Officinae Guilielmi Blaeu.(Amsterdam, 1633), and it may be that we are here dealing with a lost work. Subsequent critics and bibliographers, in concentrating on Blaeu's cartographical projects, have not perhaps given due credit to his pioneering work in the popularisation of Classical texts. Certainly the Delitiae, if a little wayward in its pagination and running titles, cannot be much faulted on its transmission of texts.

Scot's representative in the Netherlands, both in relation to this work and the later geographical project, (printed later but in preparation by 1626), was Samuel Wallace, deputy conservator at the Scottish staple port of Veere.[103] One wonders whether this man was any relation to the John Wallace of Veere who studied under Melville and Johnston at St. Mary's in 1602-3 when Scotstarvet was still an undergraduate at St. Leonard's. A letter from Samuel Wallace, of May 1619, shows that even then he was in Scot's debt, thanking him for 'tuaque erga me singulari humanitate ac benevolentia'.[104] When the latter visited Europe in 1620, Wallace signed his album 'quo iucundior consuetudo, eo acerbicr decessus'.[105] Scot lodged with him in Veere during his subsequent visit, associated with the maps, in the summer of 1645.[106]

Blaeu's letter confirms what we would have assumed from the title of the work, that the Scottish Delitiae was modelled upon those prior national collections, assembled by Jan Gruter and printed at Frankfurt.[107] The last of the series, Delitiae Poetarum Hungarorum appeared in 1619. As John Sparrow points out, these cheap octavo or duodecimo volumes were aimed at the general reader rather than the specialist or the library, and a market for them had been growing since the middle of the sixteenth century.[108] Their relatively low cost was also, of course, attractive to the man whose purse was financing the enterprise. The printers of the Low Countries, in particular, specialised in such libri manuales, both of Classical and modern authors, including the two Latin novels of John Barclay. It was not, however, a format that appealed to the book-collector Drummond. MacDonald notes that he did not possess any of the Gruter anthologies, (unless they have since gone astray), or Scotstarvet's, 'although he had most of the authors represented'.[109] This is far from the case. Drummond owned works by fourteen of the thirty-seven poets represented in the Delitiae, but in only four instances did he have all the poems collected in that work: the poetry of John Barclay, John Johnston, David Kynloch and the Hodoeporicon of John Scot. Books of the Elzevir type do not make the easiest reading and perhaps William Drummond valued his eyesight above his pocket.

Blaeu uses the French Delitiae as a convenient guideline for the size and cost of the edition. Should Scot's work much exceed that earlier volume a supplementary payment was required. As it was, the Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum, as we now have it, came nowhere near surpassing that limit. The three volumes of the Delitiae Poetarum Gallorum,

estimates MacDonald, consist of around 100,000 lines of verse, more than twice the size of the two volumes of Scottish Latin, while the Italian equivalent contains 198 names.

However, the printers' specification was not the final word on the issue. In a letter of October 1626 we find Blaeu returning to the subject 'de Scotorum Poematiis edendis' and apologizing for delays:

> ego vero si ducenta exemplaria dedero salvus
> evadere nullo modo possim quamobrem si Nob.
> Vestrae placuerit, una cum exemplari centum
> quinquaginta angelos ad minimum mittere,
> his acceptis, omnibus rebus postpositis statim
> incipiam et quamprimum in lucem veniant. Interea
> omnia tibi fausta precatur.[110]

We gather from this, that Willem Blaeu was ready to begin printing if the above terms were accepted. Indeed, the implication of 'una cum exemplari' seems to be that he thought that a text was already prepared. This would mean that the materials had already been gathered, although in August the printer would appear to be ignorant of the projected size of the volumes and thus could not have been in possession of all the writings by then. Such a surmise is generally borne out by an examination of the text itself. Where dating is possible, we can say that almost all the poetry could have been gathered prior to October 1626, whether from printed or manuscript sources. There are three exceptions to this: Robert Boyd's Hecatomba Christiana was printed in 1627, Andrew Ramsay's Poemata Sacra in 1633 and Arthur Johnston's Epigrammata and Parerga in 1632.[111] Nor can we be certain

of the dating of the poems of John Rose, a personal friend of Scotstarvet.[112] The possibility of manuscript circulation means that the date of publication is not necessarily the terminus a quo for the accessibility of a poem. Undoubtedly Scot did use manuscript sources on occasions - a holograph corrected by the author was clearly the best text.

Inference by exclusion is dangerous when dealing with such selected material, but there were writers still active after 1626-7, (such as David Wedderburn), none of whose subsequent compositions were included. We might have expected a contribution from the large number of writers that heralded the royal visit of 1633.[113] Detailed textual criticism of Johnston's work may reveal something of his revisions after 1632, but we would expect a man directly involved in the printing and proof-reading of the text to be able to make late corrections to his own verse. Nevertheless, the general conclusion stands, that Scotstarvet had copy ready for, indeed going to press in 1626, and did not add many new names to it in the eleven years that followed. Either that, or Blaeu was misled into believing that the whole work was ready for him. This is the problem of having only one side of the correspondence. We must listen for Scotstarvet's voice through the words of his correspondents. However, as we shall see, Scot was still exchanging letters with many enthusiasts and various poems were still turning up.

On 27 February 1627, Blaeu wrote again:

Vir nob. variis hactenus distractus negotiis
non potui tabulam absolvere, nunc manum
admovebo, et brevi expediam. Litteris tuis

26 Decembris datis, sine damno me Scotiae Poetarum editionem praestare posse scribis, si pro 200 exempl. 120 angelos dederis. Crede mihi, nullum commodum video: animum in me tuum respicio. Quamobrem exemplar mihi N.V. transmittat et si magnitudine Gallos poetas non excedat, aggrediar qua scribis conditione: si multum superet, vel tibi pretium pro rata augendum erit, vel mihi manuscriptum remittendum. Fide mihi, fideliter et sincere tecum agam.[114]

The tabula referred to was clearly the map of the Orkneys and Shetlands, which was engraved by 1628 but was not printed until 1654 in Volume V of the Atlas Novus.[115] Blaeu was still writing 'statim omnia expediam' in June 1633.[116] Here, for once, we map grasp something of the tone of Scotstarvet's letter. For all posterity's admiration of his beneficence, Scot was as keen as any man to see the price lowered. However, the Papers offer no more information on the progress towards publication, nor for the impediments that delayed it for another ten years.

While Blaeu was writing his letter of October 1626, the wandering scholar, William Barclay, was on hand to append a brief footnote, recommending to Scot a number of Scottish writers, although not specifically as poets.[117] Among these is one 'Rhaedus in Anglia', most probably Thomas Reid, Latin secretary to James I. Whether on the strength of Barclay's recommendation or not, a selection of Reid's verse found its way into the Delitiae, most probably from a manuscript source.[118] Reid's epigrams themselves reveal that he too, in the course of his continental travels before 1618, had built up a network of friends, including the Morsius also corresponding with Scot.[119] They also show an enthusiasm, shared with Barclay, for the Arcadia of Philip Sidney, to which work he addresses seven epigrams.[120] This work seems to have achieved some popularity in Scotland (as did its

author himself) and was illegally printed there by Robert Waldegrave, the King's printer.[121]

Barclay's letters to Scotstarvet, of which there are three in addition to the postscript to Blaeu's epistle, reveal something of the man's whereabouts, hitherto unknown, in the 1620s. In 1620 Barclay seems to have been living in London, where he published his Iudicium de Certamine G. Eglisemmii cum G. Buchanano, pro Dignitate Paraphraseos Psalmi ciiii. By June 1621 he was making a living as a doctor of medicine in Ireland. From Strabane he wrote to Scot:

> Hiberni faecunda tellus est, et populus oppido bonae valetudinis, medici paene mendici sunt.[122]

Barclay had occasion to complain of malpractice in his profession in his native city of Aberdeen too, and his vituperative 'In Vappam Circulatorem' was printed in the Delitiae.[123]

By June 1623 when Barclay broke his silence again, his initial optimism had faded, or, rather, had been washed away:

> Assidui imbres ita diluunt non solum agros, sed etiam animos. Non utor hoc praeloquio ut excusem diuturnum meum silentium, quod iure damno; sed ut intelligas, neque hoc caelum neque hoc solum vel rimiis humoribus vel minimis moribus, posse unquam detergere mihi amoris, et tuorum perpetuam memoriam beneficiorum. Iusseras tuis postremis, mitterem ad te, si quae exarassem carmina, Sibyllae folia sunt; at extant quaedam mea in Puteani scriptis, et alibi quae manumissa iam libera vagantur non mei iuris. Habeo paratum opus in Maronis opera, quod eget duobus praesidiis, censore et Maecenate.[124]

Given Barclay's apology for his long silence, Scot's request for material must again date from the early 1620s. The latter printed a handful of his poems in the Delitiae, but if he wanted more, as this letter

seems to suggest, he was unable to obtain copies of those 'in Puteani scriptis'. Nor did he respond to Barclay's request for a patron for his work on Virgil. Dupuy was successor to Justus Lipsius at Louvain, 'Qui vivus docuit desertiores/Est iam materies disertiorum,' under whom Barclay studied.[125] The missing poems may be found in the Dupuy Collection in the Bibliotheque Nationale (Dupuy 810), and were composed at Louvain in 1597 and 1598. One is a dialogue between the poet and hismuse, and is dedicated to Andreas Vaes.[126] The second, addressed to Dupuy, is in hendecasyllables, William Barclay's favourite metre. It begins:

> Virtutes, Puteane, si latentes/Quas nulli nisi noverint
>
> amici,/Tuas dixero, dicar esse mendax...[127]

Elsewhere, Barclay makes honourable mention of Thomas Nicolson, the Edinburgh lawyer, the mysterious Lessius, 'de quo tecum egi', for whom Barclay wrote his hendecasyllabic guide to the cultural grand tour, and one Forbesius. The last named is most likely William Forbes, who addressed a number of letters and poems to Scot.[128]

It may also be significant that the Dupuy Collection also contains a series of barbed epigrams on the less than competent Henri III of France, two of which have been attributed to James Halkerston and are included in the Delitiae.[129] One of these still merits repetition:

> Gallia dum passim civilibus occubat armis
>
> Et cinere obruitur semi-sepulta suo,
>
> Grammaticam exercet media Rex noster in aula
>
> Dicere iamque potest vir generosus 'amo',
>
> Declinare cupit: vere declinat et ille
>
> Bis rex qui fuerat fit modo grammaticus.[130]

The epigram turns on the meaning of the verb, declinare, in its grammatical and literal senses, and on the use of the verb amo, both as a paradigm of the first conjugation and referring to the King's amatory exploits. However,

the poem has elsewhere been attributed to Etienne Pasquier, the French satirist and historian. Edouard Fremy writes of it, 'la pièce circula au Palais, inspira d'autres compositions du même genre'.[131] There are indeed a number of subsequent epigrams, relying on the same word-play, both in Halkerston's verses, as collected in the Delitiae, and on the same loose leaf in the Dupuy Collection.[132] The Scotsman's very obscurity tends to add credence to his claim, but I am in no position to challenge the French attribution. Scotstarvet was collecting the poems over fifty years after the events in question. Whatever the truth of the matter, it is conceivable that William Barclay was the editor's source for those witty poems.

We have already referred to the assistance Scotstarvet received from Peter Goldman in reworking his poems. Goldman, a Dundonian by birth, was rewarded with space in the Delitiae[133] to lament the deaths of four brothers, a poignant reminder of the hazards of life at the end of the sixteenth century.[134] Interestingly, those moving Lachrymae contain an attack on another physician from Dundee, David Kynloch, whose lengthy De Hominis Procreatione was included in the second volume of the same work:[135]

> Succumbit medicina malis: ab Apolline doctus/Kynalochus meliora Deos sedet omnia poscens./ Nil flammis lustrare domos, nil mergere lymphis/Corpora, nil vino morbi oppugnare venenum,/ Profuit,.aut surdum precibus lassare Tonantem:/Sed magis atque magis morbi contagia serpunt.[136]

The Papers include three of Goldman's letters to Scot and one poem.[137] None of these are dated, but the verses, addressing Scot as 'cancellariae regis', attributed to Goldman, cannot be so, for they celebrate his marriage to Elizabeth Melville and cannot be before 1637.[138] The tentative dating of third letter as c1634 by the N.L.S. handlist is clearly erroneous, for Goldman was apparently dead by 1628.[139] As we have already seen, Goldman

was enlisted tolend his expertise to the re-drafting and re-editing of Scotstarvet's own poetry, and it is not easy to tell when the Dundonian is commenting on this material and when on the larger collecting. The following letter is undoubtedly, at least in part, devoted to the latter subject. It begins in haste:

> Percurri poetas tuas, eques nobilissime; percurri, inquam, verius quam recensui. Id enim et operae longioris fuisset, et virium majorum. Quid quod religio mihi fuit vel emendatu facilia immutare: poetarum enim apices singulos non aliter quam functorum voluntates ultimas sacrosanctas haberi par est.[140]

The letter confirms our suspicion from the correspondence with William Blaeu that, by 1626 or 1627 at the latest, Scotstarvet had prepared a manuscript of the Scottish poets for printing, and that it was sent to Peter Goldman for correction. Goldman's comment that the words of poets were as sacrosanct as the last wishes of the dead seems to have been a line that Scot himself followed in his editorial policy. As we have seen with the Hodoeporicon, the two were practically one and the same. It would soon be true of Goldman too, for the wish for 'virium majorum' may well be the lament of a dying man. Nevertheless, we may note that the letter was sent 'e taberna vinaria'. Perhaps he too was resorting to wine 'morbi oppugnare venenum', so disparagingly commented on before! With a rather back-handed compliment, Goldman compares the collection with other national anthologies:

> In deliciis Gallorum, floribus Italorum nonnulla reperire est, quae vix iterum legas. Itaque omnes edendos censeo.

In this letter the composition of the Delitiae seems to be presented as a fait accompli. Elsewhere, and thus presumably earlier, Goldman has more to say on the inclusion of material, although even here, the task is well advanced:

Neminem fore arbitror, vir praestantissime, qui labores tuos in colligendis poematibus nostrorum homagium non praebet. Praesens aetas ambabus ulnis amplectetur: posteritas grato ore praedicabit, manibusque tuis apprecabitur. Absque te enim fuisset quasi Sibyllae folia dispersa periissent, nunc in mirum corpus redacta, collatis viribus cum iniuriis resistent.

> Simile ante te factitarunt alii, vidimus, Flores Gallorum, Delicias Italorum.[141]

He continues in the vein of a literary historian:

> Antiquissimus e nostris qui Musarum fores primus pulsavit est Celius Sedulus Christianus poeta sapiens...[142]

Goldman is referring to the ninth century Irish (that is, Scot-Irish) writer, Sedulius Scotus, though confusing him, as was common, with the fifth century (Roman?) poet Sedulius Caelius, author of the famous medieval hymn, 'A solis ortus cardine'. Perhaps Goldman was relying upon Trithemius, who makes the same mistake, rather than Bale, who does not.[143] We may wonder whether Goldman was simply venturing extraneous information here, or if he imagined that the scope of the collection might extend beyond the poets 'huius aevi', and include specimens of earlier writing. However, it does not appear to be suggested elsewhere that Scotstarvet's editorial brief might ever have been thus altered, although of course he was frequently pressed to give patronage to other enterprises.

In the same letter Goldman goes on to mention a number of other writers and works for possible inclusion, from which it is clear that this epistle does not mark the beginning of their literary collaboration. For the Dundonian has some idea of what material is already in Scot's hands. He reports further writings of Thomas Dempster, 'praeter ea quae penes te sunt', sending him a copy of the Divinatio, a poem addressed to James which Scot included in his selection,[144] and referring to his tragedy Decemviratus

Abrogatus, which 'Londini prostat apud bibliopolas'. This play was printed at Paris in 1613 and dedicated to De Thou (Thuanus), but it was unlikely that Scotstarvet would have considered excerpting from a dramatic opus to fill out what was already a sizeable selection of Dempster's work.[145] Scotstarvet's 'labores' in assembling copy seems all the more impressive, when we realize that he did not have direct access to the bookshops of London.

Goldman requests his friend to print the verses by James (the Admirable) Crichton, 'commentaris Aldi Manutii praefixa', together with the latter's 'epistola ad Chrichtonum', presumably that tribute prefixed to his Cicero, De Universitate.[146] But the latter fell outside the scope of the Delitiae, which did not deal in eulogies by outsiders, of the kind appended to many editions of Buchanan's works. Again, this may point to Goldman's uncertainty as to the exact nature of the text Scot intended at that time. Scotstarvet added but one asclepiadic poem, addressed to the Venetian printer, to Crichton's praise of Venice.[147] Goldman continues:

> Abrenethus professor philosophiae Monspelii scripsit non plura. Quaedam tibi communicabit Thomas Syderffus, concionatus Edinburgenus. Sed de his tecum pluribus.

The above does not make clear whether the minister, Sydserf (or Synserf) had promised poetry of his own - there are verses by him in The Muses Welcome - or by Adam Abernethy, who published a considerable body of verse. Probably the latter is meant, for Abernethy's Musa Campestris or his other royal eclogues, all printed at Montpellier, would seem to be just the kind of material Scotstarvet was looking for. Perhaps the minister - Goldman's word concionatus is unusual - failed to provide a text, for no poetry by Abernethy appears in the Delitiae.

Another correspondent was the schoolmaster, David Wedderburn, who wrote to Scot from Aberdeen, having heard from 'D. Lechaeo' that 'tibi curae

esse nostratum Poetarum famam apud posteros'.[148] The letter has been dated c1637, but we may wonder that Wedderburn could have remained ignorant of the project this long. Wedderburn's informant is probably David Leech, who was successively a regent and sub-principal of King's College between 1627 and 1638. As the brother of John, the latter would certainly know of developments long before this. As the letter implies, Wedderburn and David Leech were close friends: Wedderburn contributed commendatory verses on Leech's Philosophia Illachrymans (Aberdeen, 1637) and may even have taught him at King's, when he took on extra duties there between 1620 and 1624.[149]

As we would expect of the Burgh's official laureate, he presses for recognition of his native city's achievements, reminding Scot 'ex omnibus Scotiae urbibus unam Abredoniam hujus affaectus affinem habes'. He modestly refers to his own achievements in poetry, probably with an eye to Scot's intentions, but confesses 'aliis placere aut displicere non nostri arbitrii est'. Scotstarvet's opinion was not unappreciative, and Wedderburn was given thirty pages in the second volume of the Delitiae.[150] Earlier than this, in 1630, Scotstarvet chaired the commission, established to settle the question of the national grammar, which, as we will see, granted the monopoly to the Aberdonian. Absence of any reference to this issue in Wedderburn's letter again suggests an earlier date of composition than that postulated in the N.L.S. checklist.

It has been suggested that the text of Wedderburn's 'Syneuphranterion', which occupies eight pages of the Delitiae selection, incorporates revisions by the author, subsequent to that printed in 1618.[151] However, Leask does not entertain the possibility that Scotstarvet printed the poem from the author's holograph and that Adamson altered the poem for The Muses Welcome. Thus Leask's text may incorporate alterations both by Adamson and Wedderburn, and not be a 'final version'. It will be argued later that David Hume's poems were probably altered by Adamson before he printed them in Welcome.[152]

There is evidence both from the circumstances of Hume's poetry and elsewhere that the attitude of Peter Goldman and, it appears, John Scot towards the inviolability of copy text was exceptional at this time.

Not all of Scotstarvet's correspondents sought this patronage and support with such success as Wedderburn. William Wallace, the schoolmaster at Stirling (later appointed to Glasgow Grammar School), hears that Scot has it in mind 'poemata in publicam lucem emittere', but was unsuccessful in pressing his own case.[153] Wallace's contributions to The Muses Welcome were perhaps not adequate evidence of his commitment to the muse, although we can never, of course, be certain that undated letters arrived before the door had been closed to new entries. John Leech, for all the advice and literary experti se present in the ten epistles among the Papers, was not allocated space in the Delitiae. Critics have felt the need to explain this omission. It is D.F.S. Thomson's opinion that 'independent satire was becoming dangerous', and that Leech may have been excluded for his lampooning of Archbishop Spottiswood, whose imprimatur appears at the beginning of the collection.[154] However, it is not true that 'no poems by Leech appear in the 1637 Delitiae for Scotstarvet includes one elegy addressed to him by Leech from Paris and his own affectionate reply (Elegia V) among his own poetry in Volume II.[155] As we have seen, this material was reproduced from the 1619 collection. Had Leech been truly too hot to handle, Scot would surely have avoided such explicit association. A large edition of John Leech's verse had recently been published as Musae Priores (London, 1620), and such material hardly qualified as the 'quasi Sibyllae folia dispersa' that seem to have been Scot's chief quest. The phrase is Peter Goldman's[156] but William Barclay employs the same image in describing his own lost papers,[157] as does Arthur Johnston in his preface to the work:

> Tu hac infamia et saeclum et gentem tuam liberas, dum

> popularium tuorum Sibyllina folia, vel salsamentariorum manibus, vel tinearum dentibus erepta, ad posteros transmittis.[158]

William Forbes and David Wedderburn similarly recognize Scotstarvet's struggle against the vicissitudes of time and space.[159]

Patrick Panter, the St. Andrews divine, and author of an incomplete epic on William Wallace, seems to have had difficulties with the revision of material and was not included in the Delitiae. His letter, the only one in Scots to be found in the Papers, and dated 1636 in the hand-list, (though again we must be wary of the dating), indicates that Arthur Johnston was at this stage assisting Scot in the business of correction and editing.[160] It suggests that one of them had returned some verses, of which Panter had re-drafted fifty or so. Panter adds: 'I hope the wreath be legible eneugh albeit not of the best soirt'. This is an interesting palaeographical point and explains the need for a Scot like Johnston to be on hand to decipher and interpret copy for the Dutch printer. The vagaries of the Scottish tongue and secretary hand, especially those of an old man, were not easily understood by foreign eyes. He concludes:

> I wald have sent uther and more verses bot I wald not truble zoir L. with new pains of revising, and so rest... with thes lyns.[161]

Another Scot, William Forbes, author of the poem quoted at the beginning of this chapter, corresponded via an amanuensis 'in respect I have not bein in perfect halthe this whill bygon'. His eulogy of Scot's efforts was also excluded from, or arrived too late for, the Delitiae.[162]

Nevertheless, the Papers do preserve holographs of a number of poems that did find their way into the collection, although not always in exactly the state in which their authors left them. The holograph of Henry Danskin's Cautes Marina, for example, a hexameter poem dedicated to Scotstarvet, is found to differ in six places from the Delitiae text.[163] Most of these variations are in accidentals: theloss of indentation, and the addition of a

question mark to a rhetorical question in 1.36. One is a simple variation in spelling, whilst another can be attributed to a misreading of Danskin's secretary hand, a distinctively Saint Andrean script. The phrase 'in peius ruere' has been mistaken for 'in poenis ruere', grammatically an unlikely construction. More puzzling is an emendation on 1.8, where Danskin describes the rock (cautes) as 'marinis/Lota undis'. This is surely a preferable reading to 'marinis/Tota undis' found in the manuscript. We can only assume that the author had a lapse in concentration at this point in his fair copy, and that the correct reading was supplied later.

It is conceivable that the Cautes Marina was a poem specifically requested by the editor. Among Scot's verses in the Delitiae, reprinted from the Schediasmata, is an epigram 'Ad Henricum Danskinum', enquiring as to the reasons for Danskin's neglect of poetry: Cur tua musa silet...?'[164] The poem clearly expresses Scot's appreciation of the schoolmaster's verse and asks, 'Vatibus an quia nulla honos, neque digna Poetis,/Ut quondam dantur praemia laurigeris?' No poet, especially not Henry Danskin, could have resisted such a plea from a potential patron, and the Cautes Marina may well have been his reply. Danskin addresses Scot as 'eques auratus', thus dating the poem after the King's visit of 1617, during which he was knighted. Scot included in the Delitiae three of the poems which Danskin composed for the royal visit, after which occasion the schoolmaster's muse did indeed lie dormant for a number of years, as it did between 1611 and 1617.[165] An epigram by Scot in the Schediasmata, (but not reprinted in 1637), similarly seems to have goaded David Mitchell into verse composition.[166] His reply is extent in the Papers, and begins 'Cur non, more meo, mittam tibi carmina, quaeris?/ Ne mihi tu mittas munera more tuo'.[167]

Having begun the task of collecting materials for a national anthology sometime after 1617, Scot was under considerable pressure from interested parties to complete the work, particularly from the two Aberdonians, Leech and Arthur Johnston. John Leech, who probably knew of the project as early as

anyone, refers directly to it in one epigram, 'In Apes, in Musaeo D. Ioannis Scoti Scotstervatii equitis, Mellificantes'.

Dum Fergusiacos Scotus parat edere vates,
Sparsa legens variis undique membra locis,
Mellificae volucres, castris de more relictis,
Qua laurus virides pandit odora comas,
Consedere simul: factoque hinc agmine rursus,
Mira lo quor, regem turba secuta suum,
Delegit certam sibi Scoti in culmine sedem,
Servat ubi vates bibliotheca sacros.
Illic ver geminum, geminosque morata Decembres.
Sedula in Hyblaeo nectare sudat apis.[168]

This poem was added to Leech's Epigrammata in the revised (third) edition of 1623, and thus may have been written after June 1621, the last date we can assign to the 1620 edition. Thus, the two years spent by the bees in Scotstarvet's attic, again coincides with the first indications among the letters of Scot's urge to assemble materials, and the printing of the Schediasmata.

Arthur Johnston too, (employing similar apirarian imagery) encouraged Scot to complete the task of publication. These verses, printed in the incomplete Parerga of 1632, predate by some years the actual conclusion of the work.[169] Johnston begins, like Goldman had before him, with the urgent request: 'Scote, Caledonios prelo committe Poetas/Ocius, et coeptum perfice fortis iter'. He goes on to introduce a number of themes re-used in the prefatory matter to the Delitiae. The poets are new stars, bringing light to their countrymen. As with Virgil, their works have been rescued from oblivion by an enlightened, (in two senses of the word), patron. Unlike his later effusions on the subject, Johnston hesitates to compare his native poets with their Roman masters, ('est aliquid, fateor, quo nos superamur ab illis'), but he urges his friend to finish the business of editing and not to spare

the rod in correction:

nunc tende remissa,

Nunc nimium tensae fila remitte lyrae.

Sumere fas limam, fas est eradere naevos,

Nec pudor, his numeros substituisse novos.

Quae minus apta vides, indignaque vivere, cara

Sint licet auctori, carmina dede neci.

Pabula da blattis, rapidis da pabula flammis,

Plena vel effusis spongia mergat aquis.

Johnston's advice is an interesting reversal of his own and others' comment on the rescue of the poetry, 'vel salsamentariorum manibus, vel tinerarum dentibus erepta'.[170] He urges Scot to have the courage of his convictions in emending or consigning to the flames what is of inferior quality. We may guess that Scotstarvet was still inclined to preserve 'voluntates ultimas sacrosanctas' and not to interfere with his texts. It also indicates that even at this date Scot has not devolved editorial responsibility onto his colleag

Neither this poem nor the Papers as a whole indicate any great role undertaken by Arthur Johnston in the editorial process. Indeed the letters testify to Scot's own initiative and ability in the sifting and assessment of the material.[171] If we had assumed, as has sometimes been thought in the past, that Johnston, or even Drummond, took the lead, as poets, in accepting or rejecting what was assembled, that judgement is not borne out by the Papers themselves, which show Scot to be chiefly, if not entirely, responsible for that final yea or nay, (and this was acknowledged by the contributors themselves). In the initial moves towards publication in the mid 1620s, Peter Goldman was enlisted to correct material, though he did this with some trepidation. At a later stage, after Goldman's death, Arthur Johnston lent a hand, but it seems unlikely that he did much more

than correct the proofs as they came off the press. Since Johnston received 107 pages in the final edition, his presence was no doubt useful.

The size of this contribution to the first volume remains puzzling, if we look beyond mere egotism on Johnston's part. His Parerga were also published at Amsterdam in 1637, and the Epigrammata and an incomplete Parerga in 1632, which Scot encouraged, and probably sponsored. This from a man who wrote: 'cetera quam poscunt, fugiunt mea carmina lucem,/Et cupit aeterna nocte Camena tegi'![172] Scot's concern with the publication of Johnston's verse testified to his admiration of the Aberdonian's work, and he may well have owed to the latter his enrolment as an honorary burgess of that city. This may well be the meaning of verses 'Ad eundem, ne poemata Ionstoni prelo committat' in the 1632 Parerga:

Hac ope, quos mecum vinxisti, Scote, Poetis,
Et patriae dicar consuluisse meae.
Temperat alba nigris, miscetque coloribus umbras,
Quisquis Apellea quaerit ab arte decus.
Purius astrorum micat inter Luna favillas,
Purius in tenebris lumina cuncta nitent.
Pulcher erat comitem Thersitem nactus Ulysses;
Pulchra Vetustinae Gellia iuncta fuit.
Lumina sic patriae nostra de faece nitorem,
Et decus a socii labe perenne trahent.[173]

It will be recalled that Johnston had used the same astral imagery in another poem from the 1632 volume, describing the poets of the Delitiae, 'cum poemata Scotorum prelo subiiceret'.

To include within the Delitiae so large a quantity of material, so recently duplicated, was hardly shrewd planning on Scot's part, and must have affected sales of the work. For all Scotstarvet's years of endeavour in assembling material, I suspect that its inclusion points to

a failure to provide sufficient copy for the printer. If, as Blaeu's letters of 1626-7 suggest, the patron had paid an inclusive price for the whole enterprise, it may have been the most convenient way of filling out the collection.

However, we cannot leave the matter of Johnston's involvement there, for there is one more extraordinary scrap of information, suprisingly overlooked by all subsequent chroniclers of the project. It concerns an epigram addressed to Johnston, 'poetae laureato', and printed in the Musae Priores of John Leech:

Carmina, queis dominae castos sacravimus ignes;
Carmina, quae Teiis lusimus in fidibus:
Carmina, quae Lycidas in agris, Melisaeus in antro,
Ad pastas pecudes, surdave saxa canit;
Carmina queis Boream Chloris, nemora avia Iolas
Affatur: Paphiis tactus arundinibus,
Carmina, quae semper nugas, et vana loquuntur,
Et cum melle iocos, et sine felle sales:
Commendo, Ihonstone, tibi: tu necte soluta,
Collige sparsa, aufer vana, superba doma.
Quid deceat, quid non, cautis circumspice ocellis,
Nam mihi tu nasi solus acumen habes.
Talis odoratu, sensisti Onopardon, ab umbris
Quum Stygiis nostras visere caepit ovous[174]

The poem must have been written between the publication of Johnston's satire on Eglishem, Onopordus Furens (Paris, 1620), and that of the Epigrammata in 1621. His 'ecloga quinta', also printed in the Musae Priores, allows us to extricate the Scottish poets referred to, from their pastoral disguise.[175] 'Lycidas' and 'Meliaeus' are David Hume and Andrew Melville - an adaptation of their own personae.[176] 'Iolas' is John Johnston, but the identification

of Chloris is not certain, although we must presumably associate him with a northern town, probably Aberdeen. We must also remember that the poet referred to may not be a Latin one, for the fifth eclogue also includes complimentary references to vernacular writers such as Sir William Alexander of Menstrie. What is more important is John Leech's suggestion that Arthur Johnston, as 'prince of poets', should undertake the task of gathering and editing these scattered remains. By saluting Johnston as 'princeps poetarum', the title bestowed upon George Buchanan by his French printer, Leech is recognizing him as Buchanan's natural successor. As the major Latin poet in seventeenth-century Scotland, Johnston was often identified with such a role and his complete version of the psalms was seen as a direct challenge to the national poet. The implication of Leech's epigram would appear to be that, at the time he was supplying Scotstarvet with scraps of information regarding Scottish writers, it was to Arthur Johnston that Leech was looking to assemble and supervise a national collection of Latin verse. As champion of Buchanan's status in the face of George Eglisher's attack, Johnston must have seemed a highly appropriate standard-bearer for Scottish Latin poetry after the great man's death. We must surmise that either Leech's poem was a rhetorical gesture or Johnston was not as interested in pioneering such a project.[177] As it turned out Scotstarvet's personal enthusiasm for the idea or his ability to finance the project won the day, though poeta laureatus was to be involved in the work at a later stage.

We should perhaps reassess the contribution of John Leech in the light of this further information. The letters from his hand already testify to his usefulness in discovering far-flung

examples of Scottish Latin. He seems also to have put Scotstarvet in touch with a number of scholars working in the field. The poems printed in Musae Priores are almost a catalogue of Scots Latinists: there are epigrams addressed to James and John McCulloch, Walter Donaldson (whom Leech mentions in a letter to Scotstarvet), Thomas Murray, Thomas Wilson, John Ray, Buchanan, Melville, Adam King, Andrew Aidie and Scotstarvet himself. The fifth bucolic, mentioned above, uses pastoral nomenclature to describe the work of some twenty Latin poets and a few vernacular. Bradner suggests 1617 as the date for the bucolic eclogues which would make it almost the earliest attempt to assess and survey the achievements of Scottish Latin poetry. The eclogue perhaps took its inspiration from David Hume's Moeris in Daphn-Amaryllis which, as we shall see, employed the same device to record the Scottish court's tribute to James' succession.[178] The poem is linked by subject matter and appellation to the epigram addressed to Arthur Johnston.[179] In it lies the seed from which sprang, twenty years later, the Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum.

Let us, then, construct a revised chronology of the project to assemble and print the Scottish poets. The year 1617 would appear to be a crucial year. It was, after all, an annus mirabilis for Scottish Latin, that saw the King's return to his homeland and the composition of a huge quantity of Latin verse, which, when published in the following year, constituted one of the largest anthologies of Latin verse yet printed in Britain. This was at a time when the quantity of Latin poetry printed by Scots was far exceeding that of England. The turning point in this regard would appear to be around 1603, but for the years 1616-19 Leicester Bradner, in his 'Chronological List' and 'Supplemental List', records the publication of twenty-seven

individual or composite Latin works by Scots, as opposed to six by Englishmen.[180] Of these, almost half were associated with the royal visit. Both John Leech and Scotstarvet were associated with the publication of various celebratory works at this time. Scot began collecting poetry by Scots in about 1619, though the initial idea of an anthology seems to have been Leech's, and was suggested to Arthur Johnston perhaps when they met in France. However, Scotstarvet seems soon to have assumed responsibility, both as collector and patron. By 1626, a text had been compiled and was sent to Peter Goldman for correction. Indeed, since Goldman apologises for dragging his feet, it may well have been in his study before that time. The Dundonian returned the work and Scot began to negotiate with a Dutch printer, perhaps suggested by Goldman. Since the Scottish maps were to go to Blaeu, it was most convenient to use this press for the Delitiae. Samuel Wallace, deputy conservator at Veere, was employed as go-between for both commissions. Blaeu, involved in other matters, procrastinated a little over the price, and the original text was abandoned. By this time, with Goldman dead, Scotstarvet had once more assumed responsibility for the finer details of editorial work. But Scot's public duties never allowed him sufficient opportunities for such a task and Johnston again took an interest. Finally, filled out by the wholesale incorporation of a number of other volumes, the work appeared, supervised at the last by Johnston, who was thus able to bear witness to Scotstarvet's own efforts. With the approval of the Archbishop of St. Andrews, itself an affront to the Presbyterians, and in a surprisingly small edition, the Delitiae arrived in the bookshops.

What are we to make of this work which, when planned, followed swiftly on the heels of Gruter's collections, (the Delitiae Poetarum

Hungarorum was printed in 1619), but, when published, must have seemed desperately outdated? By that date, the well-springs of Scottish Latin were all but dried up. Of the generations it commemorated, perhaps only David Wedderburn, Johnston and Scotstarvet were still writing, and the latter had written no verse for nearly twenty years. One outstanding poet of the younger generation, Robert Fairlie, was not included, nor was Patrick Panter or William Forbes. One might waste much space and time in arguing over the inclusion and exclusion of certain writers. The collection was, after all, a reflection of the taste of one man in particular. But we may suspect that the uncritical importation of a number of collections shows an ultimate abnegation of editorial responsibility. John Barclay's Poematum Libri Duo, for example, are printed even with his prose dedication to the King.[181] Given that the final assembling of copy gives the impression of being rather haphazard, we must be wary of too precise or trusting an analysis of the contents. The following comments are made with this proviso.

The Delitiae would always be torn between the two directions of being representative of Scottish literary achievement, and of gathering together the 'scattered leaves', inflicted by the national cultural diaspora. Had the project been truly geared to the former aim, a sample of Buchanan's poetry, (rather than the possible publication of a few unprinted verses, as Goldman suggested) could not have been avoided. So too, perhaps, for the works of John Dunbar and John Leech. Even the claim of the title 'hujus aevi' is vitiated by the inclusion of poems by Florence Wilson.[182] But in practical terms it would have been difficult to sell a collection of material too widely and recently available. Such venal considerations must not be underestimated. The printer and

seller of David Hume's Poemata Omnia (Paris, 1639), took the opportunity, on page 137 of that work, to advertise subsequent reading matter, 'venales habentur in platea Iacobaea ad Signum Crucis aureae', for those impressed by the poetry of one Scot. It is obvious from that list that the bookseller possessed copies of the Delitiae, although he conceals the fact, plus a few books by other Scottish writers. The latter are Buchanan, George Chalmers and John Cameron, excepting the possibility of duplication. Chalmer's works might have been the Emblemata Amatoria (Venice, 1627), or his Sylvae (Paris, 1620). A number of theological treatises by Cameron were in existence,but it was his ministry in France that no doubt brought him to the attention of the French public. The list is interesting in underlining what a shrewd outsider considered to be the selling points of this mottley collection. In general he lists only their names, adding an explanation on four occasions. Buchanan, as we would anticipate, is titled 'Princeps Poetarum', a title emanating from France; Ayton and Reid are singled out for their proximity to the King, whilst Halkerston is dubbed 'Chiliarcha'. (Halkerston is similarly called 'tribuni militum' in the Delitiae.) There seems to have been a mystique attached to the profession of soldier-poet, as a note in the same volume indicates:

> Ambo Hepburni (Clarum inter viros militares per Gallias et Germanias nomen) Chiliarchae, et Latini sermonis, et omnis generis eruditionis peritissimi fuere. Etiam nunc in exercitibus Galliae, Germaniae, Suediae, Poloniae, Bataviae plurimos Chiliarchas, Centuriones et gregarios milites Scotos doctissimos offendes. Hakerstonius, qui inter Scotos poetas refertur, in Batavia Chiliarcha fuit.[183]

John Sparrow indentifies the same tendency in sixteenth century Italian anthologies, where aesthetic considerations took second place to the desire to provide poems by celebrities.[184] However, unlike the Italian collections, Scotstarvet followed Gruter's lead in introducing his thirty-seven authors in alphabetical order. The Delitiae consistently shows such compromises, both intentional and unintentional, the outcome of twenty years of intermittent concentration.

Scotstarvet himself shows an undoubted preference for court poetry or verse addressed to the Stewarts. We have noticed the importance of The Muses Welcome as an early incentive, and verse by five poets from that work found its way into the later collection: Anderson, Danskin, Goldman, Hume and Wedderburn. In addition, John Barclay's poetry is dedicated to, and generally concerns, James I. There are royal poems, also, by Adamson, Ayton, Craig, Arthur and John Johnston, Melville, John and Thomas Maitland, Murray, Rollock, Scot and Thomson. As we have previously noted, all this verse was addressed to James, none concerns his successor, and only one poem, the 'Lessus' of David Wedderburn, commemorates his death. Concern with royalty is to some degree understandable as accurately reflecting its dominance in the Scottish Latin that was published. Nevertheless, one can have too much of it in an anthology, especially when such compliments were printed twelve years after the recipient's death.

However widely read Scotstarvet was, he was very much at the mercy of his collaborators and informants. He made one European visit in the course of compilation and collection, or just before it, (1620-1), indicated by the leaves of an album amicorum [185] preserved in the Papers,

and a circle of contacts in Europe thus established or renewed, but Scottish writings were widely scattered and surprisingly little verse printed locally in Edinburgh. What materials could be found closer to hand, Scotstarvet used extensively: the Edinburgh based writers,Craig, King, Hercules Rollock and Ramsay receive over 200 pages between them, out of a total of some 1200 pages. But there was clearly a need for advisers as widely travelled as William Barclay, Peter Goldman and Arthur Johnston. Furthermore, since a European market was projected it was advisable not to concentrate too much on writers known only in their homeland. Significant in this regard is the prefatory matter to Volume I of the Delitiae. Besides the nine epigrams on the Muses contributed by Johnston (who contrived also to complete Volume II with his verse epistle to David Wedderburn), together with his prose introduction, the liminary verses are all by foreigners. Two poems, one addressed to Scotstarvet, the other to Johnston, are the work of Caspar Barlaeus, and a longer piece is by Isaac Gruter. Barlaeus was subsequently enlisted to provide a preface for the Atlas. After Scotstarvet's trip to the Low Countries in 1645, Barlaeus wrote to him:

> Praefationem in tabulas Scoticas quam exegisti concepi:
> Videor notularum tuarum mentem percepisse; sin minus,
> muta pro lubitu; fige, refige, adde,deme.[186]

Scot did not lack for prefatory verses by fellow-countrymen had he wished to include any. One poem by Patrick Panter, dated 25 July 1636, lies unprinted among the Papers. It begins:

> Maxime Scotigenum, patriae quem cura parentis
> Una coquit, tenebris eripuisse suis;

Qui tot tanta virum prohibes monumenta perire,

Et musis lucem das, propriumque decus...[187]

There was also a poem from the pen of William Forbes, quoted at the beginning of this chapter. One complimentary poem sent to Scot by John Rose, extant in the Papers, was added to the latter's poems in Volume II.[188] However, liminary verses, whether tailor-made for the Delitiae or employed elsewhere, were not high on the editor's list of priorities. To this extent the Delitiae is far from representative of Scottish Latin poetry as we find it in 1637 or in 1600. Nor was it intended to be. The Delitiae could not conceivably have attracted interest in Europe or even in Britain, had it concentrated on collecting such poetical debris from the prefatory matter of a multitude of books. As we may observe from Barlaeus' letter quoted above, preliminary matter was frequently designed for its context, often to the specifications of the recipient. Such verses would have been irrelevant, or, at worst, incomprehensible, outside the context of their original surroundings. Only George Buchanan, it seems, was entitled to such attention. It is only in the present age, and in that of the unashamedly chauvinist Musa Aberdonensis that such Sybillina folia have been considered worth gathering up.

Most of the material used in this chapter is drawn from Adv. Ms. 17.1.9. in the National Library of Scotland. Since the subtitle, 'Letters from Learned Men to Scotstarvet',is not strictly accurate, the collection is henceforth referred to as Papers. Items are referred to according to the NLS checklist, accompanying the volume. I have indicated in the text where I consider the checklist to be at fault. The collection comprises 251 folios, together with a contents list in a contemporary hand.

1. Papers, fol. 34. The opening lines of a poem by William Forbes.

2. The letter in Scots is by Patrick Panter, (Papers, fols 198-9).

3. D.G. Moir and R.A. Skelton, 'New Light on the First Atlas of Scotland,' Scottish Geographical Magazine, 84, no. 3, 149-159.

4. W.K. Leask, ed., Musa Latina Aberdonensis (Aberdeen, 1910), III, 253-5.

5. Casparis Barlaei Epistolarum Liber, 2 pts (Amsterdam, 1667), II, 863-4 (February, 1642), 874-6 (July, 1642), 928-9 (September,1645), 933-4 (November, 1645).

6. By David Masson, Drummond of Hawthornden: The story of his Life and Writings (London, 1873), p. 227, and by the pseudonymous author of a series of notes on the Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum in 'Aberdeen Journal' Notes and Queries, III, 322-3 and IV, 8-11, 22-3, 27-8.

7. Masson, p.227. Bradner repeats Masson's conclusion 'that he had had the project in mind possibly as early as 1620 and certainly by 1627', adding that a letter from Joachim Morsius refers to the project in 1619. Morsius' letter (Papers, No. 51) is not, in fact, conclusive. How close to the truth these writers were will be seen from the forthcoming analysis. See Leicester Bradner, Musae Anglicanae: A History of Anglo-Latin Poetry 1500-1925 (New York and London, 1940), p.159.

8. T.G. Snoddy, Sir John Scot Lord Scotstarvit. His Life and Times (Edinburgh, 1968). Nor does Charles Rogers discuss them in his edition of The Staggering State of Scottish Statesment from 1550 to 1650 (Edinburgh, 1872). His biographical memoir, pp.1-24, is the source of the entry in DNB.

9. The Library of Drummond of Hawthornden, edited by R.H. MacDonald (Edinburgh, 1971).

10. Leicester Bradner, Musae Anglicanae: A History of Anglo-Latin Poetry 1500-1925 (New York and London, 1940), pp.159-160.

11. MacDonald, p.224.

12. Anderson's poems are printed in the first volume, pp.18-40, of which 'Musarum Querimonia' occupies pp.24-33. The title 'Amaryllis Ingrata' has been omitted from the Delitiae heading.

13. MacDonald, p.226.

14. Duncan sent him Rollock's papers from Saumure in March, 1619. See Robert Wodrow's 'Life of Robert Boyd' in Collections upon the Lives of the Reformers and Most Eminent Ministers of the Church of Scotland, Maitland Society (Glasgow, 1845), II, 151.

15. Papers, fols 144-5.

16. John Scot, In Serenissimi et Invictissimi Regis Iacobi Sexti, e Scotia sua Decessum, Hodoeporicon... Adjecta insuper D. Ioannis Scoti, a Scottistarvet, Patruelis Schediasmata Miscellanea (Edinburgh, 1619). Scot graduated M.A. from Edinburgh in February 1602. From there he seems to have moved to St. Andrews, matriculating on 20 December,1602. Robert Howie has annotated his name in the 1602-3 list of students 'obiit in Gallia'. I am grateful to Mr. Robert N. Smart, Keeper of the Muniments at St. Andrews U.L., for this information.

17. Hodoeporicon, sig. A2v. I use this title to signify both parts of the volume.

18. It begins 'Iam vixi regina triplex, ter maxima, victrix/Geryonis triplicis, tergeminaeque lupae.'

19. 'Hodoeporicon' occupies sigs A3-B4, the 'Schediasmata' sigs. C3-E4. Both are reprinted in Delitiae, II, 470-490.

20. Hodoeporicon, sig. E4v.

21. Hodoeporicon, sig. D1r; Delitiae, II 479, much altered.

22. Snoddy, p.14, citing the University of St. Andrews, Matriculation Roll, Acta Rectorum, III. The date of Scotstarvet's birth has probably been calculated retrospectively from this information and thus must be regarded as only roughly accurate. Less than scrupulous biographers of the Scottish poets have tended to assume fifteen as the usual age of university entrance and calculated dates of birth accordingly. However, as we shall see in the case of David Hume (see below p.267), there was considerable variation in age at matriculation.

23. Hodoeporicon, sig. E3r. Delitiae, II, 486-7, much altered.

24. Hodoeporicon, sigs. E1v-2r. Reprinted without the chronogram in Delitiae, II, 488

25. Hodoeporicon, sig.E4r; Delitiae, II, 489.

26. From 'Responsio ad Leochaei epistolam', Hodoeporicon, sigs D3v-4. Reworked as 'Elegia V' in Delitiae, II, 485-6.

27, The two epistles to Leech are on sigs C3-4 and D3v-4. They reappear as 'Elegia II' 'Elegia III', and 'Elegia V' in Delitiae, II, 479-482 and 485-6. The verses to David Mitchell (or Michael) are on sig. E3v, not reprinted. Those to Danskin on sig. D4v, and in Delitiae, II, 487-8.

28. Hodoeporicon, sig. E3v. Delitiae, II, 488.

29. Hodoeporicon, sig. E3r. Much changed in Delitiae, II, 489.

30. Rogers ed., p.122.

31. 'Ex Graeco' on sig. E2, and as 'Elegia IV' in Delitiae, II, 482-3, with minor alterations. William Drummond's sonnet 'What course of life should wretched mortals take?' is much closer to the original. See L.E. Kastner ed., The Poetical Works of William Drummond of Hawthornden Scottish Text Society, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1913), II, 173.

32. Hodoeporicon, sig. E3v

33. Hodoeporicon, sig. E3v

34. Hodoeporicon, sig. E3r; Delitiae, II, 487.

35. Hodoeporicon, sigs D1v-2r; Delitiae, II, 489-490.

36. Hodoeporicon, sig. D4v ; Delitiae, II, 486.

37. Tacitus, Agricola, 23.

38. David Hume, Moeris. Daphn-Amaryllidis, Pars Tertia (Edinburgh, 1604), sig. B4v and sig. B1v. See below, pp .

39. Hodoeporicon, sig. E1r; Delitiae, II, 487.

40. Hodoeporicon, sig. D4v; Delitiae, II, 487.

41. Papers, fols 196-7.

42. Papers, fols 179-182.

43. Papers, fol 21.

44. Papers, fols 179-182. This letter is perhaps the longest extant in the collection, occupying four folios. I have therefore given additional folio numbers for references.

45. Musa, III, 254. By this date he seems to have switched his studies to Poitiers.

46. Papers, fol. 181r.

47. Hodoeporicon, C3-4 ; Delitiae, II, 481-2.

48. Since we will elsewhere have cause to refer to Leech's poetry, it may be useful to here outline the contents of Musae Priores and the intricacies of its foliation. The work consists of three parts, each separately foliated: erotic verse, pastorals and epigrams. The six books of Eroticon comprise two concerning Panthea, two of Anacreontica and two of elegies. Part II, Idyllia sive Eclogae contains five each of bucolic, piscatory, nautical and vinatory eclogues. Finally there are four books of Epigrammatum, considerably revised for a separate edition (London, 1623). The whole work contains nearly three hundred pages and was printed at London in 1620, although a revised edition appeared in 1621, still bearing the imprint 1620. The full title reads Iohannis Leochaei Scoti, Musae Priores, sive Poematum Pars Prior.

49. Papers, fol. 179v.

50. Papers, fol. 179r.

51. Delitiae, II, 484.

52. Papers, fol. 182v.

53. Papers, fol. 182r.

54. James Hume, as we will see, prints three letters of encouragement to his father from Andrew Melville at the front of Poemata Omnia. Hadrian Damman includes a complimentary letter from the pen of John Johnston at the beginning of his Bartasias (Edinburgh, 1600). There are numerous other examples.

55. Papers, fol. 180v.

56. Papers, fol. 180v.

57. Delitiae, II, 479-481 and 481-2. 'Elegia II' is addressed 'Ad Pantheam Leoc hoei sui','Elegia III' 'Ioanni Leochaeo suo'.

58. Hodoeporicon, C4v; Delitiae, II, 482.

59. Barclay's poem 'Ad Lessium' was first published in Sylvae Tres (Edinburgh, 1619) sigs A5v-7r, reprinted in Delitiae, I, 137-9 and in Musa, III, 11-13.

60. Hodoeporicon, C3v; Delitiae, II, 480 with minor alterations.

61. Papers, fol. 180v.

62. Delitiae, II, 481.

63. Papers, fol. 179r.

64. Papers, fol. 182r.

65. Papers, fol. 180r.

66. Hodoeporicon, E3r; Delitiae, II, 489.

67. Hodoeporicon, D2r.

68. Papers, fol. 179v.

69. Papers, fols 179v-180r.

70. Hodoeporicon, D1v-2r; Delitiae, II, 489-490.

71. Papers, fol. 21.

72. Papers, fol. 181r.

73. Hodoeporicon, E2r. Delitiae, II, 488.

74. Papers, fol. 180r.

75. Hodoeporicon, E2v; Delitiae, II, 488.

76. Hodoeporicon, E3v and D4v. The poem to Danskin is reprinted in Delitiae, II, 487-8.

77. Papers, fol. 180.

78. We may be justified in proposing a more personal motive in John Leech's attack. An epigram to Danskin in Musae Priores (Epigrammatum, I, B7r) entitled 'Copula amicitiae novae', announces a reconciliation between the two writers, recently at loggerheads.

Such a reconciliation must surely postdate Leech's letter of June 1619. Perhaps Scotstarvet himself was the go-between here. The epigram gives no indication of the date or the circumstances of the disagreement, but we need little imagination to suppose that the two men had overlapping territorial claims in St. Andrews in 1617. It is likewise true that Leech did not easily win friends and severely tested the commitment of those he had. The epigram reads:

Iungere discordes, lites finire cruentas,
Possit qua fieri conditione, petis?
Sit, Danskine, tibi Bacchus pater unio, namque
Copula amicitiae pocula plena novae.

True to his own principles, Leech directed most of his subsequent verse, particularly new year poems, to his social superiors. The Strenae of 1626, for example, are addressed to two earls, one lord, six knights and a bishop.

79. Papers, fol. 180v.

80. Papers, fol. 181r.

81. Musae Priores, Eroticon, V, F7r.

82. Musae Priores, Eroticon, V, G6v.

83. Hodoeporicon, D1r.

84. Delitiae, II, 479.

85. Delitiae, II, 479, a re-phrasing of the earlier version.

86. Delitiae, II, 479, again altered from the 1619 text.

87. 'His Iani dabimus quoque carmina culta Calendis'.

88. Papers, fol. 181r.

89. Hodoeporicon, E1r; Delitiae, II, 487.

90. Hodoeporicon, E3r; Delitiae, II, 486-7.

91. Papers, fol. 181v.

92. Musae Priores (Panthea, I, B3r).

93. Julius Caesar Scaliger, Poetices Libri Septem (Lyons, 1561), sig. E1v.

94. Τὰ τῶν Μουσῶν Εἰσόδια. The Muses Welcome (Edinburgh, 1618).

The collection was edited by John Adamson, although a number of the poems were also printed separately, as indicated in the appendix.

95. Papers, fol. 194. Leech addressed an epigram to Donaldson in Musae Priores, sig. C3. See Musa III, 264-5.

96. Papers, fol. 51.

97. Meletemata Hypogeia, sive Epigrammata de Illustrorum Virorum Interitu (Hanover, 1607).

98. Papers, fol. 213. John Leech's letters deserve more attention than Leask's brief resumée. Writing to Scot from Paris in April 1618, Leech is clearly brooding over his own creations. He tells him: 'Pantheam illam quae apud te est, precor, des flammis...aut nicotio dedices'. Presumably the poem was revised for the 1620 printing. Leech's enthusiasm for tobacco, jokingly referred to here, is seen in an epigram 'Ad herbam nicotianam' printed in the 1623 edition of the Epigrammata, sigs H4v-I1r and reprinted in Musa III, 291. The letter indicates that Scotstarvet was pressing Leech to publish his poetry, for which event the latter was not yet prepared.

99. Delitiae, II, 133-7. There are epigrams to both James and John McCulloch in Musae Priores, sigs C3r and D2v-3r. Most of Leech's 'discoveries' are the work of personal friends.

100. Papers, fol.63.

101. Papers, fol. 188. I gather from the article by Moir and Skelton that C. Koeman is preparing a complete edition of Blaeu's correspondence. In all there are seven letters to Scotstarvet from W.J. Blaeu

between 1626 and 1633, and eight by John Blaeu between 1642 and 1657. Only three refer to the Delitiae.

102. See, J. Kenning, Wilhem Jansz. Blaeu. A Biography and History of his Work as a Cartographer and Publisher, rev. and ed. Marijke Donkers-loot-de Vrij (Amsterdam, 1973). Blaeu's innovatory work on maps has tended to overshadow his achievement as a popular printer. See, E.L. Stevenson, Wilhem Janszoon Blaeu 1571-1638. A Sketch of his Life and Work New York, 1914), which concentrates wholly on his cartographical output.

103. 'The Correspondence of Robert Gordon of Straloch' in Spalding Club Miscellany I (Aberdeen, 1841), 1-58. See also, Matthijs P. Roosenboom, The Scottish Staple in the Netherlands (The Hague, 1910) 154, 158-9, and J. Davidson and A. Gray, The Scottish Staple At Veere (London, 1909), ch. III . Samuel's predecessor as Conservator Deputy was one John Wallace, perhaps the father of the St. Andrews student. See. C.A. Upton, 'Sunt Lacrimae Rerum', The Alumnus Chronicle, 71 (1980) 16-21, an analysis of the obituary volume, collected on John's death in 1602.

104. Papers, fol. 24.

105. Papers, fol. 111.

106. As is indicated in a letter by Barlaeus, Epistolarum Liber, II, 928-9. Another letter (874-6) indicates that Wallace had passed on to Barlaeus the gift of two salt-cellars (salina) from Scot.

107. Delitiae CC Italorum Poetarum, 2 vols or 6 vols (Frankfurt, 1608), Delitiae poetarum Gallorum, 3 vols (Frankfurt, 1609), Delitiae Poetarum Belgicorum, 4 vols (Frankfurt, 1614), Delitiae CC Batavorum et Germanorum Poetarum, 16 vols (Frankfurt, 1614).

108. John Sparrow, 'Renaissance Latin Poetry: Some Sixteenth-Century Italian Anthologies,' in Cultural Aspects of the Italian Renaissance. Essays in Honour of Paul Oskar Kristeller (Manchester, 1976), pp. 386-405.

109. MacDonald, p.114.

110. Papers, fol. 140.

111. Robert Boyd, Hecatomba Christiana (Edinburgh, 1627), Andrew Ramsay, Poemata Sacra (Edinburgh, 1633) and Arthur Johnston, Epigrammata (Aberdeen, 1632) and Parerga (Aberdeen, 1632). Scotstarvet printed only the first part of Ramsay's work, the account in four books of the creation of the world, man's fall and redemption. A poem addressed to Arthur Johnston in the second half of this work ('Exotericorum Epigrammatum ex naufragio tabulae residuae') indicates that Johnston himself had edited at least this part of Ramsay's opus:

Laetor lutosis ingeni arvis erutas
Aeruginosis laminas,
Coxit favilla quas repente et languida
Thalia nostri pectoris,
Examen acre ferre tanti iudicis,
Limam severam carminis.
Ionstone Phoebe lucis ignes exere,
Purga, repurga facibus.
Nam ex officina prodeant modo tua,
Tua notatae imagine,
Petant sororum vel sacrarum aerarium
Ut usui sint posteris.

(Poemata Sacra, sigs. H1v-2r.) Johnston returned the compliment

with a laudatory epigram on Ramsay's 'Sacred poem' (Delitiae, I, 616-7, reprinted in Musa, II, 87-8). One might assume from this that it was Johnston who pressed for Ramsay's inclusion in the collection. Blaeu prints Boyd's work directly from the 1627 edition, omitting only the printer's address to the reader.

112. Rose's poems are printed in Delitiae, II, 265-282. On p. 282 is a poem addressed to Scotstarvet, printed from a manuscript copy in the Papers, fol. 2.

113. For example, David Wedderburn, Vivat Rex (Aberdeen, 1633). There were other poems by Scots celebrating the event in Εἰσόδια Musarum Edinensium (Edinburgh, 1633), Carolo Gratulatio (Edinburgh, 1633) and Χαριστήριον ad Carolum Regem (Edinburgh, 1633), together with individual works by Alexander Boyd and George Robertson. This year also saw the publication of Valliados Libri Tres (Edinburgh, 1633) by Patrick Panter. It would seem that the 'stop press' remained open only for personal friends of the editors. Johnston's own Musae Querelae (London, 1633) on the King's departure for Scotland, were not included in the Delitiae.

114. Papers, fol. 200.

115. Moir and Skelton, p.153.

116. Papers, fol. 190.

117. Papers, fol. 200.

118. Delitiae, II, 254-265. Reid was a personal friend of Barclay's.

119. Delitiae, II, 259.

120. Delitiae, II, 254-5. Barclay tells Scot in another letter (Papers, fol. 22) 'His diebus navigavi in Arcadiam Philip. Sidnei'.

I2I. Philip Sidney, The Countess of Pembrokes Arcadia. Now the Third Time Published (Edinburgh, I599).

I22. Papers, fol. 23.

I23. Delitiae, I, I39-I40. Barclay addresses an epigram to Scot in Delitiae, I, I40. Both are reprinted in Musa, III, 5-7.

I24. Papers, fol. 22.

I25. Quoted from Barclay's poem 'Ad Gul. Lessium' in Delitiae, I, I37 and Musa, III, I2.

I26. Bibliotheque Nationale MS.Dupuy 8I0 (36).

I27. Bibliotheque Nationale MS.Dupuy 8I0 (42).

I28. Papers, fols 8, 34, 47, 56, 80-88, I67.

I29. Bibliotheque Nationale MS.Dupuy 837 (243).

I30. I follow the Dupuy readings here. The Delitiae version (I, 376-7) has 'occidit' for 'occubat' and 'discere' for 'dicere'. Edouard Fremy, L'Academie des Derniers Valois (Paris, n.d.) has the Delitiae version.

I3I. Fremy, p. 374. For a translation of the epigram, see Frances Yates, The French Academies (London, I947), p. 33. Yates cites P.Van Dyke, Catherine de Medicis (London, I923), II, 202, whose sources were transcripts of the despatches of the Venetian ambassadors (BN. It. I729, f. 469), and the correspondence of the Spanish ambassadors in the Archives Nationales.

I32. Fremy's printed version of the second epigram 'Discere te linguae fama est elementa latinae', which follows 'Gallia dum passim' in the Dupuy MS, suggests faulty transcription at some point in the transmission. Fremy's failure to give his source prevents us from specifically blaming him.

I33. Goldman's poems are printed in Delitiae, I, 364-376.

I34. 'Margaretae Iaccheae matris suae super tristi & immatura morte quatuor filiorum Lachrymae', Delitiae, I 364-373.

I35. David Kynloch, De Hominis Procreatione, Anatome ac Morbis Internis, Priores Libri Duo, Heroico Carmine (Paris, I596). Reprinted in Delitiae, II, 3-66. The nature of the disagreement between these two physicians deserves further investigation, for Kynloch in turn wrote a series of epigrams directed against Goldman, mentioned by Dempster, II, 424.

I36. Delitiae, I, 366.

I37. Papers, fols I4-I5, 20, 2I and 64.

I38. Scotstarvet's first wife, Anna Drummond, died in I636 or I637. See Snoddy, p. I7.

I39. For the date of Goldman's death, I follow the brief biography provided by E. Peacock, English Speaking Students at Leiden University (London, I883), p.96.

I40. Papers, fol. I4.

I4I. Papers, fol. 64.

I42. The author of a commentary on the Pauline epistles amongst other works. See the entry 'Sedulius' in DNB.

I43. Joannes Trithemius, Liber de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis (Basel, I494) fol. 27r, calling him 'Sedulius presbyter natione scotus'. Bale in part follows Trithemius, but in the Basel edition of Scriptorum Illustrium Maioris Brytanniae quam nunc Angliam et Scotiam vocant: Catalogus (Basel, I557, 9) distinguishes between Caelius Sedulius (sig. ^{2}A2r), and Sedulius Iunior (sig. ^{2}B4r). He considers both to have been Scots. Archbishop Ussher of

Armagh seems to have been the first to make the correct distinction. This, however, was a little after Goldman made his observation. Had Sedulius Caelius truly been Scottish, he would indeed have been the first to rap upon the Muses' door, as Goldman claimed. Earlier editions of Bale, for example the I548 Wesel printing (sig. F3v-4), have reference only to the fifth century writer. Thomas Dempster, (Historia Ecclesiastica, I, I28-I3I and II, 572), follows the pattern of Trithemius' account, calling him 'S. Caius Sedulius'. He too identifies an eighth century 'Sedulius Junior', but the earlier writer remains a composite of the Roman and Irish authors. David Buchanan in his De Scriptoribus Scotis (Edinburgh, I837), I, 36-8, similarly confuses the two. Gilbert Gray in his 'Oratio de illustribus Scotiae Scriptoribus', delivered at Marischal in I6II, makes the same mistake. See George Mackenzie, The Lives and Characters of the most Eminent Writers of the Scots Nation (Edinburgh, I708-22, I, xxiv.

I44. Delitiae, I, 322-5.

I45. Delitiae, I, 306-54.

I46. See appendix under Crichton, James.

I47. Crichton's poems are in Delitiae, I, 268-273.

I48. Papers, fol. 70.

I49. See below, pp.2II-I2.

I50. Delitiae, II, 544-573.

I5I. Musa, III, 383. As we have seen, it was not Scotstarvet's habit to interfere with the texts of others, but we cannot be certain that Goldman made no alterations, although conceivably with

Wedderburn's permission.

I52. See below, p.

I53. Papers, fol. I6.

I54. D.F.S.Thomson, 'The Latin Epigram in Scotland: The Sixteenth Century', The Phoenix, XI (I957), 75.

I55. Delitiae, II, 483-5.

I56. Papers, fol. 64.

I57. Papers, fol. 22.

I58. Delitiae, I, 3, reprinted in Musa, I, 6.

I59. Papers, fols. 34-5.

I60. Papers, fols. I98-9.

I6I. The lines he rests with, which were not printed, begin thus :

Maxime Scotigenum, patriae quem cura parentis
Una coquit, tenebris eripuisse suis;
Qui tot tanta virum prohibes monumenta perire,
Et musis lucem das, propriumque decus.

I62. Papers, fols. 34-5.

I63. Papers, fol. 54, printed in Delitiae, I, 304-5.

I64. Hodoeporicon, sig. D4v, reprinted in Delitiae, II, 487-8 without emendations.

I65. See Robert Donaldson, 'Henry Danskin's De Remoris,' Bibliotheek I (2), I5-25. Donaldson misses Danskin's poem on the death of John Wallace - I refer readers to the entry in the appendix to this thesis.

I66. Hodoeporicon, sig. E3v.

I67. Papers, fol. I7. David Mitchell (or Michael) was a theological student at St. Andrews when he wrote prefatory verses for John

Leech's Strena Iani Sperantis (Edinburgh, I6I7). Although Leask (Musa, III, 253) hazards no guess as to Leech's whereabouts at this time, Bradner (pp.I63-4) is probably right to deduce from the liminary verses to this work and Iani Maliferi Strena (Edinburgh, I6I7) and from the Muses Welcome that Leech was living in St. Andrews about then. There is an epigram to Mitchell among Leech's 'Epigrammata' (sig. FIr) in Musae Priores.

I68. John Leech, Epigrammatum Libri Quatuor (London, I623), sig. IIr. Some account of the alterations to Leech's epigrams may be found in Bradner, p.I64, and in J.F.Kellas and A.W. Robertson, Bibliographia Aberdonensis, 2 vols. (Aberdeen, I929-30), II, 40I. After the first printing of Musae Priores in I620, Leech was forced to revise the epigrams, removing some forty of them. All poems referring to religion were left out; even the once respectable theme of lambasting the Jesuits was now forbidden. Sexuality too had become a dangerous subject: prostitution was still a permissable theme, but reference to the sexual organs was not. The licence of the satirist was severely under threat and Leech's clarion call to fellow poets and to himself had also to be removed. Gone too was a cheeky epigram dwelling on the physical characteristics of the King's secretary, Thomas Reid. But Leech's printer required approximately the same amount of copy for the reprint and the writer was thus forced hastily to provide replacements. It is these later insertions that allow us to give a terminus a quo for this revised edition. Four epigrams dated I62I are among this group, together with a number of bland compliments to members of the Archbishop of Canterbury's

staff. Certainly the latter's approval needed to be regained.

I69. 'Gramina, quae foliis exudant mella, coluntur; /Sed, quae mella legit, plus celebratur apis' in Arthur Johnston, Parerga (Aberdeen, I632), sig. C2r, reprinted in Delitiae, I, 537-9, and in Musa, I, I96-8.

I70. See Johnston's dedication in Delitiae, I,3, reprinted in Musa, I,6.

I7I. As Johnston himself writes in the dedication:

> Sed delectus est adhibitus, in quo non minus admiror iudicii tui limam, quam illorum, quos selegisti, elegantiam et nitorem (Delitiae, I, 4-5; Musa, I, 7)

I72. Parerga (I632), sig. C3v; Delitiae, I, 540; Musa, I,20I.

I73. Parerga (I632), sig. C4r; Delitiae, I, 54I; Musa, I,202.

I74. 'Epigrammatum', sigs. D5v-6r, in Musae Priores.

I75. "Ecloga Quinta. Vates" in Musae Priores, sigs. C2v-5r. Like the Epigrammatum Libri Quatuor, the 'Idyllia sive Eclogae' are signed separately.

I76. See below, pp.277,281.

I77. In the fifth eclogue, Leech addresses him: 'Nomine te referens, comes ibit vindice canna,/Pro Corydone ferox, Onopordi nobilis hostis'. There is some account of the controversy surrounding George Eglisham's Duellum Poeticum (London, I6I8) in Musa, I, I4-I5. But Geddes' and Leask's dismissal of the subject as 'a useless expenditure of fury' needs to be reassessed, and the history of the quarrel more fully documented. In addition to the writings by Leech and Heinsius on the issue, referred to by Leask, there are words of

vituperation offerred by George Craig, Specimen Epigrammatum Iacobo Primo dicatum (London, I624), sigs. A4v-5r. William Barclay, in his Iudicium (London, I620), is not as irrationally vituperative as Leask implies. The volume also includes a version of the notorious Psalm CIV by Thomas Reid, with complimentary comments also by Barclay. Eglisham's attack and the consequent rallying round Buchanan and Johnston came, as we have seen, at a time of national cultural pride, when the notion of an anthology of Buchanan's successors, and very much in the wake of his reputation, was in the air. Again, the status of Buchanan in the forty or so years after his death needs more detailed research, as McFarlane admits in Buchanan (London, I98I), p.308. The publication of Rerum Scoticarum Historia (Edinburgh, I582), undoubtedly retarded the appreciation of his poetry in certain circles. John Dunbar, whose Epigrammatum...Centuriae sex (London, I6I6) almost coincided with the first complete edition of the Poemata (Edinburgh, I6I5) includes (on sigs. C8r and F3r) two attacks on the Scotsman. The second of these shows succinctly the same attitude that motivated Eglisham's assault:

Quantum acquisivit famae tibi data Poesis
Infamem tantum, te tua penna facit:
Improba penna, Strygum nata infoelicibus alis,
Qua laceras dominam tu Buchanane, tuam.

Haec illa est quondam Scotorum Maria, cuius
Viroso invito vate revivet honos.

Compare this with Eglisham's description (Duellum Poeticum, sigs. A2v-3r) of a man:

qui reginam insontem optime de se meritam,

tot mendaciis, tot calumniis infectans,

reges deponendos, plectendos, necandos

populo substernit.

We have seen elsewhere how heated an argument could be, whatever the cause, between medical doctors.

I78. See below, pp.

I79. We must also consider the sixth eclogue of Andrew Aidie's Pastoria in Decem Distributa Eclogas (Danzig, I6I0) sigs. D2-E2r, itself a rehearsal of the achievements of the Scottish Latinists.

I80. Bradner, pp.353-4.

I8I. Delitiae, I, 76-I36, printed from Poematum Libri Duo (London, I6I5), not from the augmented editions of I626 (Cologne) and I636 (Oxford), which add a further seventeen pages. Robert Boyd's Hecatomba is similarly reprinted with its prose dedication.

I82. Delitiae, II 539-544.

I83. David Hume, Poemata Omnia, sig. A3r.

I84. Sparrow, p.400.

I85. Papers, fols. I0I-II3. From the entries it appears that he visited The Hague, Leiden, Middleburgh, Campvere and Brabant. The entry by Jacobus Fetzer (fol. II3) sends good wishes also to Alexander Seton, Patrick Sands junior (presumably the son of the Principal of Edinburgh University) and Andrew Aidie. Scot seems to have begun his album before he left for the continent, there being dedications from St. Andrews and Edinburgh (fols. Io2 and I07). These were by foreigners, temporarily resident in Scotland. Gruter's poem is on pp. 8-II of the first volume, those of

Barlaeus on pp. I2-I4. His verses 'In Poemata.....Arturi Johnstoni', reprinted in Musa, I, 3, do not appear in all copies of the Delitiae. This poem must surely have been intended for the I637 edition of Johnston's Parerga, although it does not appear there.

I86. Epistolarum, II, 933-4.

I87. Papers, fol. I99.

I88. Papers, fol. 2, printed in Delitiae, II, 282.

CHAPTER TWO. Scotland and the National Grammar

A study of Scottish Latinity would be incomplete without some account of Grammars upon which that Latinity was based and supported.[1] Scattered references in McCrie and elsewhere are not sufficient to give any clear idea of a subject and its problems which occupied the minds of many of the chief scholars of the kingdom, from George Buchanan to Thomas Ruddiman, his eighteenth century editor. A seminal article by David Murray at the beginning of this century makes mention of most of the names and texts involved, but Murray is principally concerned in relating the story to Glasgow, and occasionally jumps to over-hasty conclusions.[2] The influence of Ramus, a peripheral figure in the story, is a little better documented, though the extent of his influence is still debated and is not as central to grammatical study as it is to philosophy.[3] Alexander Hume constructed his Grammatica Nova with Ramus in mind 'cujus methodus in multas apud nos scholas penetraverat', but came to exactly this conclusion, 'nam non ita grammaticam ut logicam Ramus mihi visus est elaborasse..'.[4]

This account is strictly practical, not theoretical, for two reasons. Firstly, the Scottish grammarians themselves do not theorize about their subject. Only Hume digresses at length on the background to his text, but mostly to the extent of cataloguing his reading, more with disatisfaction than enthusiasm. Almost all the writers involved, from Despauter to Kirkwood, will be seen to react practically and specifically against a received tradition or text, often in almost identical terms.[5] The dialectical process seems to exist within and without the sequence of texts. Intertextuality in an extreme form is

present in the writing of grammars, which makes source-hunting a task fraught with difficulties when these are not mentioned by name. Secondly, a theoretical approach would far exceed present restrictions of space, and would, I feel, tend to blur the practical adjustments in method which these writers are attempting to make. I refer readers to Padley's admirable work on Renaissance linguistic theory, which devotes some space to Hume's contribution to that development.[6] However, since Hume's grammar did not achieve its desired he gemony, the intricacies of post-Ramist thought need not concern us here. The survival of first Donatus and then Despauter until the advent of Ruddiman's traditionalist grammar seems to indicate that, at the practical level, later Humanist and seventeenth century linguistics largely washed over the schools and schoolmasters of Scotland.[7] One final proviso : we cannot ultimately know to what extent these grammars dictated actual schoolroom practice. This would depend upon the teacher's commitment to a text - still a variable today - and to whether his pupils possessed copies. Grammars constructed upon the 'question and answer' format suggest close management of material, but visual displays, dictation and rote learning would all have supplemented the printed page.

At the risk of anticipating the outcome of all attempts to unseat him, we should perhaps begin with Iohannes van Pauteren or Despauterius, whose grammatical works, as collected by Robert Estienne in 1537, dominated the field in France, Flanders and, to a large degree, Scotland.[8] Indeed such was Despauter's ascendancy that a progression of Scottish grammars were designed not to replace him but to provide an elementary introduction to his work. Such were the limited aims

of Wedderburn, Williamson and, ultimately, Symson. In the preface to his Rudimenta, Despauter claims to be reacting against Alexander of Villedieu's Doctrinale, which scholarly opinion thought 'puerorum lectione indignum, utpote nimis tenebrosum, citra utilitatem praelongum, plerumque etiam barbarum, insufficiens et falsum'.[9] Such an attack is worth repeating since Despauter himself was to be upbraided in similar language. The Commentarii Grammatici appeared in Scotland in the abridged version by the Cologne scholar Sebastian Novimola, first printed by Ross in 1579, and later in conjunction with Buchanan's De Prosodia Libellus.[10] It was of this abridgment that Ruddiman wrote in 1757 'haec grammatica fere sola per plurimos annos in nostratium (sic) scholis pueris praelegebatur'.[11] Certainly it was still in the ascendancy when James Kirkwood composed his Grammatica Facilis (Glasgow, 1674), and it is there that the most illuminating and detailed critique of Despauter is to be found.

Kirkwood's grammar is prefaced by a long series of prose epistles and testimonials by colleagues and associates, partly commending Kirkwood, partly damning his newly superseded rival. Arthur Millar, headmaster of Dumbarton, is reluctant to turn against an old companion 'quae tot annos in hoc regno duraverit'[12], yet triumphantly does so. William Skene, schoolmaster at Haddington, combines two parables from Matthew XIII in rejecting a work 'foedis nigellasti sordibus et difficultatum spinetis'.[13] The imagery of unproductive labour occurs frequently in the grammatical debate. The minister of Dunblane, Gaspar Kelly, rehearses a familiar list of faults :

Despauterii Grammaticam pro fugacis aevi brevitate prolixam, pro ingeniorum vulgarium modulo operosam, multis autem modis mancam et defectam, magnam in ea incuriam necessaria a nonnecessariiis discernendi quis non videt ?

These allegations are substantiated in Kirkwood's fifty eight 'Animadversiones in ... Grammaticam Despauterianam', though Kirkwood makes it clear, both in his use of the adjectival form of Despauter's name and elsewhere, that it is Novimola's adaptation, not Despauter himself, with which he takes issue. (The latter is similarly polite in exonerating Alexander through the faults of a barbarous age.) 'Tu nostri erroris causa' writes Kirkwood, and what errors are delineated !

> Ah, quis describere satis valet infinite prolixas, perplexas, obscuras, et, magna ex parte inutiles Grammaticae Despauterianae regulas, quibus misera juventus multos per annos distenditur, et enecatur ? Haec puerorum crux; haec, carnificina, et pistrina dicenda est .[15]

We might notice a few of those points of departure from the dislodged Despauter. No. 35 (on A5r) deplores the use of Persius - 'poetarum omnium longe spinosissimo' - again that spiny metaphor - as a source of illustration. No. 41 (A5v) complains that Despauter's explanations sometimes presume a knowledge of logic and physics in boys still fully occupied with the rudiments of communication.[16] This 'cart before the horse' argument will occur frequently. Nos. 37 and 50 justify the claim of prolixity : Despauter's grammar includes too many rhetorical figures and too many examples. In no. 54 (A6r) Kirkwood complains

that principal and minor rules ofgrammar are not adequately differentiated. No. 59 identifies a bogus line of Virgil, cited in support of the exceptional use of a dactyl in the final foot of an hexameter. Finally nos. 70 ff. criticize the age-old tradition of verse rules, a curiously persistent legacy from the medieval grammars.[17] Such mnemonics were under attack from many quarters, and Despauter himself pleads that he includes less verse than Alexander. The verses were generally of two kinds, one singing the rules of accidence and syntax, the other marshalling heteroclites into easily assimilated hexameters.[18] Kirkwood finds the habit worthless, adding that even a born poet like Buchanan, 'summa artis poeticae gloria et decus' (and thus, implicitly, a better one than Despauter), wrote his Prosodia in prose. Yet Kirkwood shows surprising backsliding by reissuing the Prima Pars Grammaticae in 1675 'in metrum redacta', and in his revision of Despauter (Edinburgh, 1696) he substitutes his own memorial verses for those of the Humanist. There is another 'cart before the horse' argument in operation here, for the knowledge of prosody which the mnemonics imply was imparted much later in the curriculum than the rules of declension and conjugation. In mentioning Buchanan, Kirkwood is silently condemning Despauter whose verses, often retaining the bad habits of pre-Humanist versification, are not the ideal introduction to the subject of metre. Yet the demand for such mnemonics overcame theoretical reservations and the tradition survives even in the appendix to Kennedy's Primer.

It is important to distinguish between such criticisms levelled against Novimola's abridgment in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and those we might apply with the benefit of hindsight. Murray

finds fault particularly with Despauter's lack of paradigms and vertically arranged tables of declensions.[19] But as Murray himself shows, this was not a crucial issue in the debate. A host of different variations in arrangement came and went before the familiar tables took hold.

Such were some of the doubts over the use and validity of Despauter amongst scholars, in the face of schoolroom conservatism, vested interests and the difficulties of setting change in motion. The situation is briefly recapitulated by Alexander Hume :

> Post sexdecem annos cum reversus in patriam ad scholam Edinburgenam vocatus essem : adegit me opinio hominum et consuetudo gentis ad antiquum praeceptorem Despauterium. Cumque in ejus carmine hic obscuritas, illic barbaries, ubique methodus displiceret....[20]

There were a number of attempts to provide a national grammar for Scotland, the progress and motivation for which are charted in the preface to James Carmichael's Grammaticae Latinae ... Liber Secundus of 1587, in Alexander Hume's Grammatica Nova of 1612 and in Kirkwood.[21] Their ultimate demise is to be seen in the continued reprinting of Despauter throughout the seventeenth century.

The desire to revolutionize the teaching of grammar would appear to have its roots in the 1560's, when educational change was much discussed. Knox had stressed, both in The Buke of Discipline and before, that in the period when 'God worketh not commonlie by miracles' it was essential for Protestant society to ensure its own survival by providing a well-grounded and integrated educational system

for its future clergy.[21] The twenty or so years following the Reformation are littered with proposals for reform - Buchanan's scheme for the University of St. Andrews, for example - many of which never came to fruition. The Buke of Discipline itself was not implemented, although a number of its suggestions were taken further. Here the teaching of grammar was divided into two stages:

> Two years we think more than sufficient to learn to read perfitelie, to answer to the Catechisme, and to have some entresse in the first rudimentis of Grammar; to the full accomplischement whairof, (we meane of the Grammar,) we think other thre or foure years at most, sufficient.[22]

This two-fold division, whether derived from Knox's outline, or from the example of the Lily-Colet Grammar, remained the determining factor in Scottish grammatical writing for the next century and more. Even Alexander Hume, who radically deviated from the tradition, adhered to that scheme. It is important to stress that division, however obvious it may appear, for it is not a method currently operating in the teaching of Latin or of any other foreign language.[23] Contemporary manuals of Latin instruction, and those that have recently been displaced, operate on the assumption of a smooth transition from ignorance to fluency, without a recognisable break in that process.

The first indication of moves to revise the teaching of Latin grammar may be seen in the licence granted to the printer, Robert Lekprevik, to print a number of books early in 1568. It was felt that Lekprevik, newly designated King's Printer, should alone be authorised

to print certain texts considered to be under the prerogative of the state. These included both the Geneva Bible (authorised in April, 1563), the Psalms in Scots verse (granted in March, 1565) and a number of schoolbooks, namely 'Donatus pro pueris' -that is, the so-called Donatus Minor - and 'Pelisso's Rudimentis'. Clearly the government now felt it necessary to control the distribution of such material as an essential adjunct to the wider control of education. To the licence granted in January, 1568 is added:

> Togidder with the grammer to be set furth callit the generall grammer to be usit within scolis of this realme for erudition of the youth.[24]

This licence is repeated in subsequent references in the Registrum of the Privy Council, dated November, 1570 and July, 1573.[25] Its disappearance after this date is followed by evidence of direct intervention on the part of the Privy Council to create such a 'generall grammer'.

A minute in the Register of the Privy Council, dated 15 December, 1575, summons a group of scholars to meet in the new year (10 January) with a view to compiling such a grammar.[26] The scholars initially named are the King's preceptors, George Buchanan and Peter Young, and the schoolmasters of Edinburgh, Stirling, Dunbar, Haddington and St. Andrews : that is, William Robertoun, Thomas Buchanan, Andrew Symson, James Carmichael and Patrick Auchinleck. That such a group should ever have been judged as an attempt to provide a national cross-section or consensus is surprising. The inclusion of the two

Buchanans (though Thomas later shifted his ground), Symson and Carmichael looks like a Presbyterian coup, which may well be significant in the light of future events. It is similarly surprising that the reasons behind this initial move have not been fully explored.

The proliferation of text books and idiosyncratic methods in the realm is the reason most commonly attested, though a new generation of grammars in fact only added to the confusion.[27] It seems probable that there was more uniformity under the old hegemony of Despauter than under the new when the old grammarian still continued to be taught. The scenario depicted by Despauter himself may well be of relevance here, especially if we envisage it in semi-political terms. He sees a dissatisfaction in Alexander de Villedieu and the breakdown of central authority leading to a proliferation of lesser works and finally the reimposition of centralised power in his own grammar.[28] The story constructed by Carmichael and the writer of the Privy Council minute is again of local unilateralism and the need to reassert central authority in the form of a national grammar. It is that prior breakdown of the old order, a linguistic equivalent to the Reformation, which, on the evidence of the reprinting of Despauter and Donatus had not in fact occurred, that needed to be glossed over. Thus of the three stages in the scenario Carmichael imagined the first, exaggerated the second and failed to achieve the third.

Furthermore, an imposed monopoly could never ensure absolute uniformity at a level to which the Humanists aspired, for 'Diversos diversa iuvant', as Palingenius says. The inherent contradiction in these aims is tacitly admitted by Lily in the prefatory epistle to his

grammar :

> The which hath seemed to many very hard to compasse a fore-time; because that they who professed this art of teaching grammar did teach divers grammars, and not one; and if by chaunce they taught one grammar, yet they did it diversely, and so could not do it all best; because there is but one bestnesse, not only in everie thing, but also in the maner of everie thing.[29]

This methodological stricture - an extraordinary claim at the best of times - is at variance with the more philanthropic sentiments a paragraph later :

> The varietie of teaching is divers yet, and alwaies will be; for that everie schoolmaister liketh that he knoweth, and seeth not the use of that he knoweth not.[30]

Despauter summarizes the argument thus:

> Itaque tot iam de arte grammatica volumina in lucem prodiere, ut nullis ferme in literariis ludis iidem authores legantur non sine maximo adulescentium damno : qui ad aliam scholam, quoties mittantur, priora frustra didicisse censentur omnia. Nec erit rei tam perniciosae finis ulla, donec unus reliquis praeferatur. Hic quis erit, novit deus.

The secondary 'change of school' argument is again repeated by Carmichael, who reverses the emphasis from learning to teaching, no doubt with an eye to the best interests of the schoolmasters, to whom the

apology is partly directed :

> Unde factum sit, ut quoties parentum, ut sit, arbitrio praeceptor esset mutandus toties veteres dediscenda, et nova ediscenda forent...

Peregrination was undoubtedly a fact of educational life in the Renaissance, but we may suspect that some of these vindications were becoming as traditional as the grammatology.[31]

Nevertheless there is evidence to show that a number of competing grammars were in circulation at this time. The Inventories of Edinburgh Printers, as published by the Bannatyne Club, reveal at least ten in stock during the reign of James VI.[32] The earliest, that of Thomas Bassenden,[33] reviewed in February 1579, includes Linacre's grammar (no doubt in Buchanan's translation),[34] one by Nicolaus Clenardus (Cleynaerts),[35] a mysterious 'Mauchline grammar', perhaps referring to a work by one of the Magdalene College Grammarians, most likely John Stanbridge.[36] In stock also are over fifty copies of the Rudimenta of Jean Pellisson (Paris 1533 and 1560),[37] five hundred of Donatus (that is, Donatus minor) and a huge quantity of Despauter's Grammar both in individual parts - the inventories refer to four parts - and all together. The inventory of the goods of Robert Gourlaw, made in April 1586,[38] includes copies of Melanchthon's grammar,[39] two editions of Ramus[40], a Prosody by the Swiss scholar Pantaleo[41], and more of Donatus and Despauter. Of all of these only the works by Donatus, Despauter and Pellisso could genuinely be claimed to be in mass circulation, though the presence of the others is

interesting. This then was the state of play when work began on a new Scottish Latin grammar.

National pride was certainly a factor in that enterprise, perhaps the most important in the King's eyes. A sidelong glance at England revealed the successful imposition of a national, humanistic grammar, already in operation for two generations. What is more, the later extension of the Lily-Colet nucleus into a large all-purpose textbook showed that a committee of interested parties could work together to that end.[42] Though the Privy Council make no mention of the fact, Carmichael, with certain affiliations south of the border, makes no secret of the comparison, 'quod et Proavunculus tuus Henricus Angliae octavus, in gratiam suorum quondam fecisse fertur, nec hominum memoriae prorsus excidit'.[43]

Indeed Carmichael makes much of the bond between monarch and grammarian, from Classical times to the present :

> Et ne prorsus νεωτερους praeteream, Guliel, Lilius, Henrico Regi, Lod. Vives Catherinae, Thomas Linacrus sua Rudimenta (quae ποιηικοτατος noster, in Latinam linguam translata, Cassilissae Comitu tantopere commendaret) Mariae Angliae Reginis , dicata esse voluerunt.[44]

Carmichael shrewdly combines a compliment to his adopted home with all those images irresistible to his Scottish King : the crucial family link with the English throne, academic and artistic patronage, and political initiative centred upon the monarch. His stirring address to James, written from an exile initially imposed by the Black Acts

of May 1584 but later willingly extended, calls for an intellectual assault upon the Church of Rome, grounded in a newly overhauled educational system :

> Imprimis autem scholas istas triviales foveas, in quibus tot clari Philosophi, tot integri theologi, tot docti Physici, tot denique politi legumlatores, tyrocinium facientes, atque fundamentum linguarum ac sapientiae jacientes, quot Ecclesiae et Reip. tuae muniis affatim sufficient, non tanquam ex equo Trojano, sed seminario artium locupletissimo postea prodire poterunt. Ita non solum Haeresiarchae ipsius asseclis, qui Deo et Ecclesiae suae tam cruentum bellum indixerunt, tuorumque caedi ac sanguini tamdiu inhiarunt, omnem redeundi spec redimes, sed et Romam illam veterem, nunc anum, et Graeciam effoetam, deducta (ut quondam Majores tui in Lutetia Parisiorum) colonia, sua studia docere poteris.[45]

It would be superfluous at this stage todraw out all the apocalyptic and biblical strands from this complaint.[46] It visualizes meeting the Counter-Reformation head on in a struggle in which intellectual and military energies are inextricably joined, as are educational and doctrinal integrity. It is typically coercive prose from a leading member of the Presbyterian Left. Its insistence stems from the alarm at the decline of Scottish provision for education, a complaint that would continue to be voiced throughout the next century; as, for example, by another schoolmaster, Robert Fairlie of Musselburgh, who looked for financial support for the system :

Dives habet quod persolvat, sed discere nolit,

Discere vult pauper, nec habet quod solvere possit,

Ostendetque scholam vix Scotia tota frequentem.

Scotia habet passim iam phrontisteria largis

Sumptibus aedificata, piis sacrata comoenis;

Sunt quibus incumbat tantae provincia curae,

Ut doceant sophiae mysteria, sacra recludant

Biblia, qui medicae sublimia dogmata cuivis

Discutiant artis, sunt qui fundamina legum

Sollicita enodent, modo digna salaria dentur ...[47]

The inclusion of the higher faculties stems, it seems from dissatisfaction with an educational system which looked to Europe for vocational training and higher degrees. Yet there is frustration too at the lower end of the spectrum. Precious few sons of the wealthy were interested in the pursuit of learning and those few generally were sent abroad. The General Assembly, held at Burntisland in May 1601, addressed the problem of noblemen's sons travelling in Europe with pedagogues of dubious religious affiliations for their education.[48] The young Earl of Gowrie, recently involved in an alle ged plot to kill the King, was believed to have been thus corrupted.

It is worthwhile dwelling upon this corollary of the 'Scot abroad', partly to counterbalance previous celebrations of that phenomenon, partly todraw attention to the alarm it clearly engendered in post-Reformation Scotland. The locus classicus of that complaint is perhaps the oration delivered at the graduation ceremony at King's College, Aberdeen in 1637. That it should be delivered in that year,

the date of the publication of the Delitiae which is a high point of Scottish internationalism, transcending national and religious divisions, is itself an interesting contradiction. The oration is by David Leech, Sub-Principal of the College and brother of John, whose lines 'In Scotos...' have often been used to epigrammatize this peripatetic phenomenon: 'Scotus ubique latet. Nusquam vestigia figit./ Perque soli longas it, pelagique vias...[49] 'The oration itself varies unnervingly in tone, desperate complaint rubbing shoulders with exuberance of language and rhetoric and repetition (perseverantia) characteristic of a verse refrain. In it Leech laments the neglect and decline of philosophy in comparison with other disciplines, paying compliments in passing to David Weddberburn's grammar, a later recruit to the ranks, which held sway in Aberdeen. He cites the examples of three Scots scholars forced overseas to seek education and work and thereby exposed to the allurements and pitfalls of Catholic Europe :

> Unde fit, ut qui in fortes Reipub, columnas poterant excrevisse, subtilissimi ingenii capacitate dotati, Philosophantium Gymnasia derelinquere cogantur; et a Nectareo Philosophiae (quam primitus degustaverant) poculo violentissime propulsi, sola inedia novercante, aliorsum palabundi abripiantur : Hic, necessariis orbatus subsidiis, residuum vitae peregrinando transigens , natali solo nolens volens valedicere cogitur, paupertate malesuada suadenta: Cui rei fidem faciendo (ut reliquos silentio praetermittam) insignis illa SCOTORUM PHILOSOPHORUM trias succurrat: Admirabilis primum CRICHTONUS, constantissimus prae paupertate domestica peregrinus; in subtilitate, praesertim PHILOSOPHICA, solus sine compare : cuius memoriam, famam,

gloriam, nedum SCOTIA quae genuit, nedum ITALIA quae fovit, sed et Orbis qua patet universus aeternum depraedicabit BALFOREUS ille nostras, Aristotelicae subtilitatis Doctor resolutissimus, ad GALLOS hinc prae necessitate transmissus. IACHAEUS ille ABERDONENSIS, calamitate nonabsimili commotus, LEIDENSIS Literaturae ocellus, et in re PHILOSOPHICA omnium inter BATAVOS versatissimus; quem benignissimis non ita pridem impensis, impensissime BATAVI et liberalissime aluere. Ille itidem, ab Orthodoxa Religione miserrime desciscere, et salutaris fidei naufragium facere extremae necessitatis impulsu compellitur; et fallaci amoenioris affluentiae et divitiarum laqueo irretitus, damnoso IESUITARUM aucupio lubens volensque se submittit : Cujus generis Apostatas non paucos, GERMANIA, GALLIA, ITALIA, uti hactenus ita etiamnum fovent : Ita pro pauculis minimisque quibus acquiescit Natura, Athletae amittuntur egregii, ad summum Literaturae, non tam humanioris quae inter nos est, dispendium, quam Relligionis nostrae Orthodoxae vilipendium.[50]

In his remarks on Crichton, the Scot abroad par excellence, Leech draws upon a pattern, common in the Renaissance commemorative epigram, of multiple nationality, thereby drawing attention to its dangerous undercurrents. The sub-genre has its origins in epitaphic poems in the Greek Anthology but the immediate source is probably John Johnston's epigram on Crichton, where the epithet 'admirabilis' is first employed: 'Et genus et censum dat Scotia : Gallia pectus / excolit : admirans Itala terra virum / Ambit, et esse suum vellet?[51] Leech's moral is

powerfully expressed and felt, even if we might take issue with him over his biographical information. As far as I know, Crichton's poverty and Gilbert Jack's apostasy are not attested elsewhere. It would certainly be interesting to know Leech's source for the latter allegation.

Returning to the 'national grammar' proposed in 1575, the reasons were apparently not pressing enough to ensure a speedy completion of the project. An entry in the Register of the Privy Council for 20 December 1593 shows the mission grounded 'have owre'.[52] This progress (or lack of progress) report needs to be considered in some detail since it was surprisingly missed both by Buchanan's latest biographer and the editors of his De Prosodia Libellus and expands greatly upon the earlier entry.

Among its additions is that of an extra name to the Committee: Patrick Sharp, Master of Glasgow High School, later Principal of the University there. However, the entry makes no attempt to explain the lapse of eighteen years since the initiation of the scheme, which must have been shaken by the Black Acts of May, 1584. If the work had not come to fruition by then, it would be unavoidably delayed. Buchanan (called by Carmichael praeses of the committee) was dead; Carmichael in exile and Symson's life severely disrupted. According to the Fasti, the latter's stipend was suspended for two years between 1587 and 1589 because of his attitude and defiance in 1584, though he vowed in that year not to preach sedition.[53] Nevertheless it was these three that contributed most, if not all, to the project and Buchanan must have found time, amid his prodigious historiography, to have penned his work on metre before his death in September 1582.

Renewed urgency at this time may suggest that the Privy Council were responding to pressure from below to implement the proposals of 1575. For the Convention of the Royal Burghs, meeting in July at Dysart, 'efter lang resonying upoun the supplicatioun gevin in be the commissioun of Dunbartoune', decided to send letters to the ministry and presbytery of Edinburgh:

> requeisting of thame to tak ordours for making and compleitting of the first and secund parttis of grammar with expeditoun, and gevis full powar and commissioun to Henry Charteris, merchant berges of Edinburgh, to insist thairupoun...[54]

The reference to Charteris may add credence to the claim of Dickson and Edmond that Charteris and his successor (Robert Charteris) printed one or more editions of the Dunbar Rudiments.[55] The inventory of Henry Charteris' goods, made in September, 1606, records 'iii^{m} lxxii Dunbar rudimentis',[56] more than he could have acquired from the stock of John Ross, reputed to have printed a 1580 edition.[57] The inventory of Robert Charteris' stock, made at the time of his wife's death in 1603, lists 'ane hundreth and ane half Rudimentis'.[58] The absence of any of copies of such editions leaves the problem unsolved. Moreover there is no evidence to suggest that Charteris printed a Second Rudiments although Robert Smyth possessed copies of a 'secund Rudimentis' at the time of his death in 1603.[59]

The royal burghs remained an interested party in the moves to establish a national grammar long after 1593.[60] When David Wedderburn was pressing for acceptance of his grammar by the Privy Council and the

local authorities, he presented it to the Convention for its approval. Having circulated two hundred copies of the work throughout the kingdom, a procedure somewhat belatedly sanctioned by the Privy Council, they ordained it to be used. Wedderburn dedicated his Institutiones Grammaticae to the commissionars of the burghs, and seems to have held their judgement and support in more esteem than he did the Privy Council.

The 1593 entry makes it clear that there had been an easy alternative to a new compilation: to nominate for the monopoly a grammar already in circulation:

> Quha, at thair conventioun, gaif oute for thair opinioun that thair wes nocht sa solide, substantious and perfyte ane grammer yitt sett down by ony auncient or new authour as they wissit, to serve to thair contentment, quhairunto they could bind thameselffis and thair colligis, in the quhilk thair wes nocht sindrie thingis ather wanting or superfluus, or some way to be reformit...[61]

One must resist undue speculation over that decision, but we might consider the rejection of two strong candidates for that monopoly, Lily and Linacre. When Buchanan drew up his curricula, for the proposed reform of the University of St. Andrews (c. 1563), it was Lily's grammar which he recommended at the lowest level.[62] However, the method of the King's Grammar was not without its critics. D.F.S. Thomson[63] sees an implicit criticism of Lily in Buchanan's introduction to his translation of Linacre, 'atque adeo ipsa Hippocrene, pueri Grammatices Rudimenta auspicari, quam ex triviali isthac sorde,

quae eis a Gymnasiarchis plerisque obtruditur' [64] A purist like Buchanan preferred his Latin teaching neat, not watered down (to maintain the image) in translation as Lily's Rudimenta and Colet's Aeditio were. Hence the desire to turn Linacre's Rudimenta into Latin.

There are however latent difficulties in Buchanan's position, not entirely concealed in his preface. Thomson, in rendering 'ex triviali isthac sorde' as 'from the muddied waters of everyday life' introduces a simile not present in the original and fails to preserve the pun on trivialis.[65] In later Latin trivialis, the adjectival form of trivium, refers to the three disciplines of grammar, rhetoric and logic.[66] Andrew Duncan, in the preface to his Etymologia, used the word to refer specifically to grammar (or burgh) schools: 'in plerisque ludis trivialibus.'[67] Thus, Buchanan's remarks, rejecting the school grime for Hippocrene's fount, are hardly helpful to the harrassed schoolmaster, contemplating a method whose rules (in Latin) presuppose a knowledge of the grammar and syntax which those rules claim to unfold.

It might be added that this incongruity motivates much of criticism of the Latin part of the English Royal Grammar, the Brevissima Institutio, as teaching 'the unknown by the unknown'. To be fair to Lily, this later compilation, as is shown by C.G. Allen, is hardly his responsibility. Both Lily and Colet were careful to prepare the ground for more advanced study (the De Constructione) with an elementary grammar and syntax in English : Colet's Aeditio and Lily's Rudimenta.

Foster Watson would excuse Buchanan by allowing a spoken knowledge of Latin to precede any written study, at least in the sixteenth century.[68] This argument would be supported by the numerous

injunctions against vernacular conversation in schools (Foster Watson, 316-8), and the popularity of Terence and other aids to speaking. It is in essence the medieval equivalent of the direct method of modern language teaching. However Foster Watson is quick to add that this position becomes increasingly untenable with the decline in spoken Latin. The number of elementary textbooks released in translation (such as Lily and Colet, Ramus, Vaus and Linacre) suggests that a compromise was often reached much earlier.[69] Though Walter Ong is right to stress the universality of Latin in his work on Ramus, he is inclined to exaggerate its ascendancy at the elementary level. His claim that 'the Latin grammars for beginners in Latin were in Latin themselves' and that 'the direct method ... could be said to be only method which existed in principle in the sixteenth century' is belied by the evidence of the textbooks themselves.[70] And, as he admits, the theorist Ascham made provision for initial instruction in the vernacular.[71]

We must admit though that the crop of Scottish grammars that began in 1587 are remarkably free of vernacular intrusion, translation into Scots being used only for individual Latin words. If this fact should bring with it the claim of impracticability, then so be it. We cannot know how an individual schoolmaster would use them in practice. The argument of ignotum per ignotius surfaced again in the preparatory research for Kirkwood's Grammatica Facilis. Kirkwood confesses that he was attacked by a number of men 'versatissimi in literis' for not publishing the 'Vestibulum' of the Grammar in the vernacular:

> Inter quos unus (cui in omnibus non obtemperare mihi religio est) nunquam non cessabat, quoties hac de re esset sermo, asserere absurdius nil esse, quam ut Grammatica in ignota lingua discenda pueris proponatur. Cui mortalium (aiebat

Ille) literas Hebraicas discenti arrideret Grammatica hebraice delineata; aut Graecas discenti graece descripta? Par hic ratio. Praeterea, si in nota ederetur lingua, multi adolescentes, et viri quibus per negotia scholis interesse non vacat, ad mediocrem saltem linguae latinae notitiam pervenire possent: cuiusmodi sunt Medicorum, et Pharmacopularum servi et famuli, quibus vel rudis cognitio haud parum prodesset.(B4v).

Humanist education was peculiarly vulnerable to this level of criticism. Excellent as it was for providing a grounding in texts, a classically orientated sensibility and the wherewithal for the pursuit of rhetoric, it risked communicating little or nothing to the less committed or able. It is typical of Kirkwood and certain of the other grammarians to concentrate on this practical problem. Kirkwood's only reply is that the referendum went against him:

> Adeo invictis saepe me urgebant argumentis, ut aliud responsum in promtu non esset, quam, quod multos hac de re consulissem ludimagistros, nec unus esset, cui Grammatica latine potius, quam vernacule conscripta non arrideret (B4v - 5r).

If this defence is reminiscent of Pilate washing his hands in the face of support for Barabas, Kirkwood at least ventures a further suggestion. In no. 31 of the 'Methodus' he protests that since much of the groundwork is taken up in 'the naming of parts', it matters little whether those labels are given in Latin or English: 'Quid discriminis inter Nominativus et nominative...?' This argument is later borrowed by Ruddiman who, in A Dissertation upon the Way of Teaching the Latin

Tongue, argues that since much of grammatical theory is, without explanation, beyond the grasp of the pupil it matters little whether he speaks of nomen or noun.[72]

Linacre's Rudimenta initially fell into the same category of grammars in the vernacular, but this problem had been surmounted by Buchanan's translation which, by 1575, had been in print for over forty years.[73] The latter had also corrected a number of errors that had crept in, as itemized by Thomson, and had made the work more palatable for a Scottish audience by replacing Henry by James in royal references, though he retained other topical references such as 'Lilius magister'. Alexander Hume, in the introduction to his Grammatica Nova of 1612, shared the older Scot's respect for Linacre:

> Dum LINACRUM grammaticorum, quantum ego possum dijudicare, principem sedulo verso; illius praecepta in ordinem pro meo capitu, illius exemplo ex auctoribus momenta omnia observo.[74]

Later he compares him favourably with the other sixteenth centry Grammarians:

> Veteres omnes diligenter evolvi. Ex recentioribus Sulpitium Verolanum, Philippum Melanctonem, Manutium, Vallam; sed ante omnes Linacrum, cujus diligentiam in quaerendo, acumen in observando mirabar et colebam. In his quamvis apud alium aliud, apud omnes multa placerent: tamen nemo fuit, in quo non vel methodum, vel lucem, vel compendium desiderarem.[75]

Not, it seems, favourably enough. This is a typical grammarian's attitude: praising here, damning there, borrowing and rejecting. The outcome, of course, was to place yet another variant upon the supermarket

shelf, which was becoming overstocked, 'in tanta veterum scriptorum turba, supervacua...' as Buchanan writes.[76] Moreover it is likely that Hume is thinking of Linacre's longer work, the De Emendata Structura Latini Sermonis, rather than the Rudimenta.[77]

What may be said in favour of the Rudimenta is to be seen in Buchanan's 'Dedicatio' to Gilbert Kennedy, translated by Thomson, who complements the author's 'diligentia et ordinis lux' and his 'novitas'. Certainly his division of material is strikingly novel. Linacre amasses all paradigms, regular and irregular, in the first section of the work, 'Rudimenta Declinationum' et Indeclinabilium' and there presents them without comment. Similarly, definitions of parts of speech and such like theoretical material are collected in the shorter second part, 'Rudimenta Definitionum'. The third section, 'Rudimenta Constructionum' deals with syntax and usage, employing a catechetical method to deal with individual points of grammar. A phrase in Latin of two or three words is introduced, and problems of agreement and construction explained. Such parsing was the keynote of Medieval and Renaissance school reading. Linacre's innovation is to introduce such a technique at the preparatory stage of learning syntax.

It is important to notice this tripartite division of the work, which is not evident from Thomson's description. Indeed the weaknesses of method outlined by Thomson are features only of the 'Rudimenta Constructionum', not of the 'Rudimenta Declinationum et Definitionum'. Thomson takes issue with the catechetical method there employed, another cumbersome legacy of the Medieval Grammars. I am not, however, entirely convinced that such criticism is justifed. As with

the subject of tables and paradigms, it was not an issue over which the grammarians themselves debated. Although a catechetical approach was not used in the Lily-Colet Grammars, it is to be found in Despauter, Ramus and Ruddiman - an interesting cross-section. Indeed straight-forward exposition and catechism are seen to be interchangeable in the abridged Despauter. The section on syntax, which is in 'question and answer' form in the Commentarii Grammatici is not so in Novimola's edition, whereas the 'Ars versificatoria' undergoes the opposite transformation. Admittedly in certain circumstances catechetical method was an ugly, sometimes absurd excrescence; as, for example in the Accedence of John Stanbridge[78]. But to Linacre's way of expounding the rules of construction ex usu, it seems remarkably suited. This was, after all, how a teacher and pupil might approach the raw material of Latin phraseology. Moreover, in the post-Reformation it was a methodology that gained a new lease of life.[79] A whole generation of elementary theological works appeared following the method of the Catechism and expounding their truths in 'question and answer' form. Finally we might question Thomson's opinion that 'this is how the grammarians of the late Roman empire now and then approached their task.'[80] This is not the impression gained from reading Donatus, Priscian and the other late Roman grammarians, whose approach is far more theoretical.

Thomson's third criticism is directed against Linacre's use of examples, which he finds too numerous and difficult for novices in the art. Again we are inclined to question this judgement. By far the majority of Linacre's illustrations are not 'taken wherever possible from Cicero or another of the "best" writers of the classical age' but are

of his own devising - a technique of Lily's praised by Thomson. Such illustrations often introduce Roman or Greek writers - 'amicus Caesaris', 'Socrates docuit Xenophontem et Platonem', 'utinam audissem Virgilium' or 'Cicero meminit clientum suorum' - but are not themselves drawn from classical sources. Much of the remainder is composed with the school-boys' limited experience in mind: 'audio Terentium quem tu edidicisti', 'placeo praeceptori','spoliavit me libris', 'ego sum fortissimus animalium' or 'non vacat mihi ludere'. As these examples show, the 'Rudimenta Constructionum' seems to have been composed with the spoken word very much in mind, perhaps excessively so for Colet and the Scottish commission.

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to give a detailed critique of Linacre's Grammars, though his reputation in Scotland has made some discussion unavoidable. Thomson fails to distinguish between the Progymnasmata (printed by Rastell and dated 1512 by STC) and the Rudimenta.[81] Their interrelationship has not been sufficiently defined but is probably best described as an earlier and a later attempt at a rudimentary grammar, characterised by the move towards a more simplified manner of exposition.[82] Differences between the two (apart from that between black letter and Roman) only become apparent in their treatment of syntax and construction. Thomson's criticism of Linacre's excessive use of examples and their intrinsic difficulty might with justice be applied to the Progymnasmata, but it was a fault to which Linacre himself was sensitive. In radically restricting their employment in the later work Linacre preserves those of the type outlined above and removes many of the more problematic. Furthermore, it was during this revision that Linacre decided to reverse the order of rule and

example. No doubt he felt the innovation of 'discovery learning' more in keeping with the simplified approach. The claim of the title, 'diligenter castigata', is no idle boast. No doubt also he felt justified in postponing much of the technical detail for inclusion in the magnum opus, De Emendata Structura. Certainly the dating of the two works suggests their interconnection, and Linacre himself intended the larger work to be used by learners.

If then we question some of Thomson's criticisms of Linacre's Rudimenta (thinking of it as a candidate for the Scottish monopoly), what were the qualities that damned it in the eyes of subsequent grammarians and perhaps indicated the direction a new grammar might take? Firstly the 'Rudimenta Declinationum' is undoubtedly an abbreviated summary of accidence. Linacre makes no attempt to explain how the declensions and conjugations are to be taught and incorporated into the learning process. Furthermore he omits that whole range of heteroclites and third declension variants so beloved of grammarians. Indeed the whole section is severely unbalanced in its concentration on the verb: thirty-seven columns in Buchanan's translation as opposed to four each devoted to the noun and pronoun.[83] Such reference material would need to be used in conjunction with a more rudimentary grammar and supplemented by a more detailed Etymologia. We have seen how legislation and some grammatical theorists were attempting to close down that interpretative space between unassimilated text and learner. Such a text only encouraged the individuality in the teaching method which a 'national grammar' was designed to limit.

By concentrating definitions of parts of speech into a self-

contained group Linacre is in practice suspending them in a theoretical vacuum, bearing no relation to grammatical practice. This too was of little help to the schoolmaster required to pass them on. Finally, in the crucial section on syntax, Linacre's bravery in making rule secondary to example was unrewarded. Conservatism in teaching still demanded rules to be internalized and verses to be learnt by rote.

In conclusion then we may see Linacre's Rudimenta falling short in a number of crucial areas. His presentation of accidence required supplementary material and paid too little attention to rules. Furthermore in concentrating on oral practice rather than written, Linacre was open to criticism in certain Humanist circles. In his De Ratione Studii Puerilis, which Thomson sees as tactfully alluding to faults in the Rudimenta, J.L. Vives reasserts the primacy of scriptio.[84] These factors and the additional fault perhaps that the Rudimenta was written by an Englishman may well have lead the Commission to look elsewhere for their 'national grammar',

> and to that effect thai, with ane consent and mynde, devydit that arte in severall portionis amangis thamesalffis, to be pennit within the tyme then aggreit upoun amangis thame in sic forme and method as wes alswa prescrivit be thame.[85]

The entry goes on to chart the progress of the scheme:

> At quhilk tyme appointed thay convenit, everyane reporting his diligence as wes injoynit, and exactlie revisit and conferrit amangis thameselffis mony dayis on publict chargeis, and correctit thair particular labouris as they wer injoynit, approving and allowing the same as maist schorte, plane and easie for the capacitie of ths scollaris, ordining everyane to putt thair parte in mundo, and to prepair the same to be

prentit, that, all uther grammeris being dischargeit, it micht be onlie taucht throu the haill realme, according to the ordow to be tane be his Majestie and the saidis Lordis, to be thaireftir confermit in Parliament, eftir the forme of weill establissit republicquis. Off the quhilkis portionis the Etymologie, contening the rudimentis for declinatioun of nownes and verbis, the descriptionis, divisionis, and accidentis of the aucht pairtis of speiche in ane buik, and the perfytter intreating of the genneris, declinationis and comparisonis, orthoclittis and heterocleittis, in ane uther buke, is alreddy prentit, and hes course within this realme, and yit, for want of publict intimatioun of his Hienes and the saidis Lordis gude intentioun to prosequute this gude werk, ar nocht as yit universallie ressavit; and lykewayes, throu negligence and oversicht, quhilk oftymes fallis upoun commoun caussis and werkis, the restis of the pairtis (quhilkis ar alswa putt in write, reddy for the prenting) ar nocht as yit sett furth for the commoun use and utilitie of the saidis scollaris.

This is important information, which has not been brought to bear on the dating of Buchanan's assignment. It refers to two Etymologiae already printed and in use, a simple and a more comprehensive version. The latter is certainly Carmichael's work printed at Cambridge in 1587. It is so designated on the titlepage:

Grammaticae Latinae, de Etymologia liber secundus, ex vetustissimis artis, et linguae auctoribus, depromtus, ea methodo: quam senatus Literatorum Regia auctoritate, Sterlingi habitus, Scoticae Iuventuti facillimam censuit.

The former is no doubt the work of Andrew Symson, though this is bibliographically more of a problem, since the first edition (and possibly the second) is no longer extant. We shall return to this elementary grammar later.

What is certain is that by December, 1593, Buchanan's De Prosodia Libellus was still not in print and was urgently required. Thus Scholar Press cannot be correct in assigning the date 1590 to the piece. Dickson and Edmond postulate 1593, but on curiously contradictory evidence, some of which may safely be cleared away.[86] The work, printed by Waldegrave, bears no date on the titlepage, but carries the device (McKerrow 187β) of an angel holding a book, previously used by John Ross.[87] Dickson and Ross identify the device - there was a large and small version of it - as used by Waldegrave only in 1591 and 1592.[88] The examples given however (STC 21278, 6217) all bear the imprint 1590. Similarly McKerrow cites only these three appearances. This may well be the source of Scholar Press' dating. However they have all overlooked a later use of the device on the titlepage of An Exposition of the Lords Praier in the way of Catechisme (STC 19701), printed by Waldegrave and bearing the date 1593.[89] Such is the internal evidence, none of which points to 1595, though the terminus a quo of December, 1593 does not preclude it. Nor does the terminus ad quem of July, 1598, when the book is included in a curriculum drawn up by Edinburgh town council for the High School.[90] It seems likely, given the urgency of the 1593 Act and the fact that the work was 'reddy for the prenting', that Buchanan's book was printed soon after. I am inclined on this evidence to revise the dating of STC (? 1595) and McFarlane (c.1595

or 1596) and suggest 1594.

We might append one footnote to our comments on the De Prosodia. The archives of Glasgow possess an early curriculum for the Grammar School dated by Grant, on palaeographical grounds, about 1573, there being an act book of the town council of that date in the same hand.[91] The fourth year course, as transcribed by Grant begins:

> For the first quarter more or less, ars versificatoria of Despauter shall be prelected upon, with selections from Buchanan's prosody and epigrams; also there shall be taken from the poets read in a former year, examples of each of the rules of prosody.

It is highly unlikely (though not of course impossible) that 'Buchanan's prosody' referes to the De Prosodia, but rather to the poet's general technique of versification as illustrative of Despauter's theory. It is surprising though that the writer should distinguish between the generalised rules of metre and composition in his verse and the Epigrams. The distinction indicates that Buchanan's Psalms (most probably those in elegiacs) were being recommended for scansion and analysis of metre. If the reference does not suggest early anticipation of his work on prosody, still it must make us wary of equating references to his prosody in later curricula with the Libellus. Thus the Ordo Scholae Grammaticae Edinensis, quoted by McFarlane out of Chambers and referring to the prosody, need not (and probably does not) relate to this work.[92] The Psalm Paraphrases were by far the most influential of Buchanan's writings in the Scottish school and were used at a number of different levels.

We are left with the puzzling plural of 'the restis of the pairtis', implying more manuscript material than simply the treatise on prosody. A short piece by Buchanan 'De Accentibus' may comprise a fraction of that ungathered material. It eventually found inclusion in a revised printing of Despauter's Ars Versificatoria (Edinburgh, 1631), there signified as 'ex prosodia Georgii Buchanani'. As such it appears to have replaced Despauter's own guide to accents, of which it is a simplified version, and which may be found between Books X and XI of the 1684 (Edinburgh) edition of the Grammatica. McFarlane, in his list of the combined printings of the De Prosodia and Despauter appears to overlook this fragment. It seems fruitless to speculate over the other projected or missing parts, there being no grammatical works attributable to the other members of the 'senatus literatorum'. Patrick Sharp was clearly involved in the production of educational works, as his verses in the prefactory matter to Thomas Jack's Onomasticon Poeticum indicates,[93] but his one excursion into print, Doctrinae Christianae Brevis Explicatio, though undoubtedly a teaching text and based on his lectures at Glasgow, is of no relevance here.[94]

Conspicuous by its absence from the work as described in 1593 was a text treating Latin syntax. Indeed the 'Dunbar Rudiments' remained notoriously defective in this regard throughout its lifetime. Some attempt was made to supply this deficiency in subsequent printings: Finlason printed a second rudiments in 1607 outlining rules of construction and agreement, while later editions of the Rudimenta contained two independent outlines of syntactical theory, 'Constructionis praecepta quaedam' and 'Elementa syntaxeos'. However the original committee and its successors evidently failed to produce a detailed treatment of syntax, akin to Carmichael's 'perfytter intreating' of etymology.

Indeed what did appear could hardly be said to provide even an elementary framework.

In the event the educational establishment fell back on the tried and trusted Despauter, whose Syntaxis, comprising Books VIII and IX of Novimola's abridgment, had been printed by Ross in 1579. It was reprinted on Hart's press in 1632, around the time that the other nine books were reissued. Since the Etymology carved out no greater niche for itself than to be an introduction to Despauter - Williamson's and Wedderburn's Grammars were similarly targeted - this was an obvious solution.

To conclude our discussion of the 1593 Privy Council Act, it is worthwhile underlining its indebtedness to Carmichael's preface. The early part of the report, outlining the motivation for change and its results simply paraphrases the Latin address to James. The initial complaint:

> that the maisteris of scoillis and pedagogis have, thir mony yeiris bigane, chosin to thameselffis sic writtaris of the arte of grammer as hes bene commendit unto thame be the prentaris or buiksellaris, quhilkis ather they have leirnit thame selffis or ellis hes bene accustumat to teiche.[95]

is an expanded translation of Carmichael's Latin:

> quod unicuique liceret quam vellet Grammaticam docere, et quod plerumque in tanta scriptorum varietate, non optimi diligerentur, sed quos vel Ludimagistri didicerunt, aut saepius docuerunt; vel quos Bibliopolarum commendarat aviditas...?[96]

Both this, and the cross-reference in the title of Carmichael's Etymologia 'ea methodo: quam senatus Literatorum, Regia auctoritate, Sterlingi habitus, Scoticae Inventuti facillimam censuit', suggest that Carmichael replaced Buchanan as unofficial praeses of the project, or at least carried its standard forward. If that is so, then the De Etymologia Liber Secundus is an interesting expression of that ascendancy, or at least of the other attitudes underlying the grand design.

If impracticality is a criticism applicable to a number of these humanist aims and methods, it might in practice be applied to Carmichael's work. His range of reference, as indicated at the outset, is impressive - a bibliography of upward of one hundred and fifty names, with a further thirty six 'quorum ope et opera usi sumus'. Among the classical sources the name of Varro is prominent, a sign of later Humanist affiliation according to Padley.[97] Greek authors are present in abundance, for the grammar makes much of parallel Greek declensions and constructions. And though a transliterated Greek alphabet is included at the beginning, a knowledge of that language would seem to be essential for full comprehension of the material. As such it is close to the De Emendata Structura of Linacre and similarly unworkable as a teaching text. Of the sixteenth century grammarians cited we may mention Melancthon, Lily, Pantaleo, Sulpitius, Vaus, Nebrija, Ramus and J. C. Scaliger. The influence of Ramus is to be seen in the spacial arrangement of forms on the page and in the use of dichotomies (or binary oppositions, as a structural linguist would have it). Yet the work is not substantial enough to make final judgements on method, for it breaks off after dealing with substantives. This alone would account for its lack

of success in the home market.

Clearly there is something odd about the printing, as the collation shows.[98] The absence of verbs and the inclusion of a list of rhetorical figures at the end, normally a feature treated much later in a grammar, suggests that Carmichael had prepared much more of the work. We may dismiss the suggestion of Vincent J. Flynn that the book was 'strictly speaking, illegal', for it was intended for use in Scotland, not to challenge the injunctions against rivals to the Royal Grammar in England.[99] The printing of the English translation of Ramus' Latin grammar at the same press in 1585 may well have had similar justification. It is disappointing that Donaldson's work on the Presbyterian exiles in England has not been followed up, for Carmichael's presence in Cambridge (with its undoubted Presbyterian and Ramist sympathies) is no accident.[100] What we know about Thomas Thomas' political affiliations implies a closer connection between these two men. Indeed the range of sources and references advertised by Carmichael is no doubt partly due to the exceptional access to texts provided by the printer's shared interest in lexicography and linguistics. The dedicatory epistle to Thomas' Latin dictionary is dated just ten days before that of Carmichael's Etymology 'ex aedibus Thomae Thomasii.'[101] Why the work was not printed in its entirety remains a mystery, but by the following year Thomas was dead and Carmichael back in Scotland.

One bizarre omission from Carmichael's list of authorities is Despauter, whose verses re-echo through the pages of the Etymology. Here, for example, are the hexameters by Despauter on various exceptions to the rule of third declension nouns ending in -es being feminine (t8r):

Es sit foemineum. Tudes hic vult, poples et ames,

Pes aries, paries, palmes, cum limite, stipes,

Et fomes, trames, termes, cum gurgite, cespes,

Et verres, merges, quibus addito graeca diesque

Tempore pro certo, cum prole: dat haec ita raro.

Compare this with Carmichael's list on A4v:

Mascula sunt: gurges, verres, poples, tudes, ames,

Pes, aries, paries, termes, cum tramite, coespes,

Bes, circes, fomes, palmes, cum limite, stipes.

Graecula tam primae: quam entis dant genitiuo.

Tempore pro certo cum natis adde diesque.

Carmichael was not the last to preserve or adapt Despauter's mnemonics. On the same subject David Wedderburn's verses run thus:

Es sit foemuneum, tudes hic vult poples et ames,

Pes, paries, merges, palmes, cum limite stipes,

Et formes, trames, termes, cum gurgite cespes.

Masculei est generis graecum tibi quicquid in es[102]

It is likely here that the printer has erred in placing est near the beginning of the last line instead of at the end of it. Such mistakes are not uncommon. James Kirkwood similarly keeps the tradition alive:

Es sit foemineum: davit hic Poples, Tudes,Ames

Bes, Gurges, Fomes, Palmes cum limite Stipes

Et Trames, Termes, Circes cum Cespite, Coles,

Pes, Paries, Magnes: sic caetera, quae Genitivo

Dant Etis, veluti Magnetis ...[103]

In all four the mandatory dactylic fifth foot has lead each to include ablative forms before declensions had in theory been introduced. A certain degree of anticipation was unavoidable of course, though the authors of verses in the Brevissima Institutio are more careful in this regard. As we have seen, Carmichael's work did presuppose an elementary knowledge of the rudiments of the language.

If the advanced Etymologia of James Carmichael had no success in Scotland, one by-product of the committee made a lasting impact. The Rudimenta Grammatices, attributed to Andrew Symson, survived as an elementary primer for well over a hundred years. It is this work of which Ruddiman writes in his Bibliotheca Romana: 'Haec Rudimenta in omnibus fere Scoticae scholis, me puero, et diu ante, praelegebantur'.[104] Ruddiman's words link the text with Despauter as the two main-stays of Scottish grammatical training. As such it continued to be reprinted in the seventeenth century, seemingly impervious to the monopolies granted to Alexander Hume and later to David Wedderburn. No doubt many a schoolmaster preferred to use the text through which he himself had been trained. However a number of misconceptions have arisen concerning this work which need to be removed.

One chief difficulty centres upon the problem of authorship. There are a number of early attributions of a grammatical primer to Symson, or rather to Dunbar as he was commonly known, as master of the

grammar school there. Yet the title Dunbar's Rudiments fell into abeyance, such that by the end of the century Kirkwood - himself a Dunbar man as Murray points out - refers to the work by the title alone: 'Rudimenta nostra vulgaria, quae ab hisce verbis incipiunt, Quum literarum'.[105] Whether Kirkwood designates the work thus through ignorance of the author's name or acknowledgement of multiple authorship does not seem to have occurred to Murray. Kirkwood may well have been more circumspect than ignorant. The author's name was 'recovered' by Ruddiman: 'Verum tamen eorum autem auctorem fuisse praedictum Andream Simsonum me docuit eius pronepos Andr. Simsonus'.[106] Such filial piety does not of course surprise us - the Symson family had traditionally been proud of their family heritage. Since that date the attribution has not, I think, been questioned. J.P. Edmonds researches in this area at the end of the last century seem to have hampered by his failure to recognise that Symson and Dunbar were the same man.[107]

Only one of the editions bears Symson's name on the title page. That was the single quarto gathering printed by Thomas Finlason (Edinburgh, 1607):

> Rudimenta Grammatices. Secunda Tantum: In gratiam Iuventutis Scoto-Britannicae Conscripta. Authore M.A.S. Multo omnia quam ante emendatius edita; et aucta locis Innumeris. Adjectis etiam Notis.'

This work is perhaps at least part of the 'Second Rudiments' mentioned in the booksellers lists - that of Robert Gourlaw, made in April, 1586 and Robert Smyth in February, 1604.[108] On 29 October, 1602 Finlason

bought from the heirs of Robert Smyth the licence to print 'the secund rudimentis of Dumbar' and on 1 March, 1606 from James Gibson the licence 'for prenting...the first and secund Dunbar Rudimentis', a privilege granted to John Gibsone in 1590.[109] If Finlason intended to print the 'First Rudimentis' as well, there is no indication that he did so. The earliest surviving edition of what might comprise a 'First Rudiments' - parts of speech, accidence and details of declensions and conjugations - is Hart's edition of 1618: 'Rudimenta Grammatices, in gratiam Iuventutis Scoticae Conscripta'.[110] There were reprintings of this text in 1631, 1633, 1638 and c1640, as listed by STC.[111] Aldis lists three other printings, the earliest of which is an edition of 1612 by Hart, though these must all be treated as of unproven status.[112] We have not been able to deal with the role of printers in the production of grammars, but it does appear that they were quick to take advantage of renewed interest in a national grammar by printing a work in their possession. Editions of the Rudimenta Grammatices and of Robert Williamson's Grammatica Latina of the early 1630s coincide with the struggle between Hume and Wedderburn over the monopoly.[113] An edition of 1612 would have similar justification, coinciding with attempts to oust Despauter infavour of the Grammatica Nova.

The 'Constructionis praecepta' of the 1618 text bears little relation to that of the Second Rudiments, though both title pages claim alterations and developments on prior editions and the two may share a common ancestor now lost. In the 1618 version particularly any original form of the 'Constructionis praecepta' is buried benath notes and appendixes which serve to complicate rather than clarify the structure. Hence the need to include a further elucidation of the matter in the

'Elementa Syntaxeos.' The two works do share a catechetical method but even here the 'question and answer' format of the first section of the Rudimenta Grammatices is of a rather strained kind. Here the magister and puer engage in an intermittent dialogue between paradigms, akin to Vives Exercitatio or a colloquium by Corderus. A genuine catechetical method only commences when we move on to the definitions of word-classes. Such wide interpretation of catechetical discourse is not uncommon but it is curious to find it in the same work. Comparison of the 1618 and the 1607 texts then confirms the judgement of STC that they are two different works but does not rule out the possibility of an original connection. Subsequent editorial intervention, particularly in the 1618 volume, and the inextricable nature of intertextuality and tradition prevent us from drawing conclusions more certain than that.

The title of the Rudimenta Grammatices ends 'Prioribus aeditionibus longe emendatior' and two editions prior to 1600 have been claimed. Hazlitt records an edition of 1587,[114] while Herbert, in his revision of Ames, lists under 1580 'Latinae Grammatices rudimenta in gratiam iuventutis Scoticae conscripta Edinburgi.Octavo'[115] Dickson and Edmond consider this latter to be the 'foure hundreth thre scoir Rudimentis unbund' itemized in the stock of John Ross, dated 18 February 1581.[116] This would appear to be the earliest reference to such a work and though such evidence cannot be conclusive - the title Rudiments might after all refer to a number of books - it is undoubtedly strong. The inventory of Gourlaw's goods list a 'Secunda Rudimenta' and later 'fyve hundreth xxxviii secund Rudimentis', again without reference to an author.[117] The earliest attribution to Dunbar is in the stock of

Henry Charteris made in August, 1599.[118] That Dunbar's Rudiments were in print by 1598 is affirmed by its inclusion in the curriculum for the first class of Edinburgh High School and again in 1614.[119] And of course it is implied in the Privy Council report of 1593 that the work was already available by then.

> We would have no initial reason for doubts over the Rudiments

but for the sporadic nature of the attribution to Symson and the fact that the 1607 Secunda Rudimenta which is assigned to M.A.S. was not included in the complete work. The suggestion here put forward is not to deny the existence (at some early date) of a rudimentary grammar written by Andrew Symson but that this initial work soon became the centre of a composite grammatical tract, thus severing its intended link with the Liber Secundus of James Carmichael. The evidence is not only in the addition of marginal notes and appendices but also in the treatment of syntax. It has not previously been pointed out that the second treatment of syntax, beginning on sig. D4r and headed 'Studiorum Puerilium Clavis, Pars secunda, elementa Syntaxeos complectens' is in fact the work of Andrew Duncan. Duncan's Studiorum Puerilium Clavis, a simplified companion volume to his Latinae Grammaticae Pars Prior, was printed by Waldegrave in 1597 and dedicated to Andrew, grandson of the Master of Gray. It was the second part of that work, 'Elementa Syntaxeos', which was incorporated without change into the Dunbar Rudiments. It will be noticed from Murray that another work by Duncan, the Rudimenta Pietatis (Waldegrave, 1595) was frequently bound with the Rudimenta Grammatices, together with a number of other schoolbooks. There is however one piece of internal evidence to suggest

that Symson's work, as presented at some earlier date, is retained in the 1618 Rudimenta. In the section headed 'Constructionis praecepta quaedam', that is, the brief resumé of rules intended to introduce the principles of syntax, appears the following example:

> Quantum hinc distat Edinburgum? Iter vel itinere unius diei. Viginti quatuor miliaria, vel miliaribus.[120]

The town of Dunbar, where Symson was schoolmaster, is in fact, about twenty-four miles from Edinburgh. Such evidence is not conclusive, but it will be seen that Symson's fellow grammarians, Duncan and Hume, did make some attempt to relate their examples to the local surroundings. Perhaps this was because they were simply publishing material already used in their own schools.

It appears then that the Rudimenta Grammatices represented, almost by default, the composite grammar striven for by the Stirling committee. Along with Novimola's Despauter and Wedderburn's textbook, it held sway until the arrival of Ruddiman in the eighteenth century. Not surprisingly it was singled out for criticism in Kirkwood's 'Animadversiones' in his Grammatica Facilis Kirkwood devotes twenty-six points to his critique of 'Rudimenta nostra vulgaria', a mild assault beside the fifty eight directed against Novimola.

'Quid de abstrusa et perplexa illa prima Libri oratione hic dicam?' asks Kirkwood.[121] The pursuit of a 'Grammatica Facilis' leads him to reject what he considers to be unnecessary distinctions and classifications' in the method of the Rudiments. Among these he

includes the division of consonants into liquids and mutes (no. 1), the subdivision of conjunctions and prepositions (nos. 23 and 24) and ind eclinables in general (no.22), the initial listing of all the word-classes (no.2) and the multiplication of verbal moods. In the older grammar's treatment of nouns (which includes adjectives and pronouns) Kirkwood takes issue with the inclusion of Greek declensions (no. 5), the want of paradigms (no. 6) and the involved divisions into interrogativum, relativum, simplex, compositum and the like.

Not all of these criticisms are justified. Dunbar's Rudiments does include paradigms, though the case for their inclusion, as we have said, had not yet been proved. There was a tendency, seen in Linacre's Rudimenta and Duncan's Appendix Etymologiae,[122] to group them together and present them in a separate volume, hence seeing them as another facet of grammar from the theoretical ground-work. Nor should we assume from Kirkwood's attack that these are features unique to the Rudiments. His search for simplicity ran very much in advance of current grammatical practice. Grammatical works had of course long relied on such categorization, though Ramistic influence had accentuated the practice. The enumeration of word-classes and their division into declinables and indeclinables was a traditional feature resisted only by the most innovative grammarian - Alexander Hume, for example. Kirkwood's argument is that such a division could conveniently be held back until a later stage of instruction. As for the exclusion or otherwise of Greek declensions, this depended very much upon the terms of reference of the grammar concerned, be it elementary or more advanced. Linacre excluded them from the Rudimenta, as did Wedderburn and Lily. Carmichael's

work is saturated with Greek, but was of course intended to build upon Symson's elementary Etymology.

Again in relation to mood, Kirkwood was reacting against a long-standing tradition. Five were in universal currency: indicative, imperative, infinitive, subjunctive and optative, the latter two distinguished 'in significationibus' rather than 'in vocibus'. To these Linacre appears to have added a sixth, the potential, which was incorporated into later editions of Lily and used both by Duncan and Wedderburn. Only Hume, following Ramus, left these categories of mood out of his etymology, redefining them syntactically. But beginners could be shielded from the sophistication of the sixth mood. Linacre did not include it in his Rudimenta - a fact not pointed out by Padley[123] and Duncan restricts his discussion of the verb in Pars Prior to principal parts.

Nevertheless Kirkwood is not unjustified in doubting the wisdom of dividing the word-classes to the extent seen in the Rudimenta. Many of these apply to the formation of words, endings of verbs being designated 'augmentiva', 'desiderativa', 'frequentativa' and 'inchoativa'. An admonitio on sig.B8r defines the formation of nouns from root stems whilst an observatio on B8v distinguishes relative and interrogative pronouns, followed by a brief note identifying various kinds of nouns and adjectives designating nationality, parentage and quantity. The fact that some of these categorizations appear in footnotes may mean that they were added at a later stage in the production of the work.

It will be remembered that the Privy Council report of December, 1593 had described Symson's Etymology as containing 'the rudimentis for

declination of nownes and verbis, the descriptionis, divisionis, and accidentis of the aucht pairtis of speiche', and Carmichael's 'the perfytter intreating of the genneris, declinationis and comparisonis, orthoclittis and hetercclittis'. If these two descriptions are correct (and we have no reason to doubt that they are), the failure of Carmichael's Liber Secundus to achieve wide currency surely obliged later editors of the Rudimenta to extend its scope to include extra material relating to etymology. Furthermore the failure of the committee to produce, or at least to see printed, a syntax,similarly enforced an extension of the Rudimenta, whether during or after Symson's lifetime. Thus the Dunbar Rudiments evolved from the first in a series of textbooks to a single comprehensive primer. Murray notes a seventeenth century tradition of binding the Rudimenta with a number of other elementary school texts.[124] He lists David Williamson's Vocabula, Duncan's Rudimenta Pietatis, the Dicta sapientium, the De moribus et Civilitate Puerorum Carmen of Sulpitius Verolanus and Cato's Distichs as parts of a composite body of grammatical, moral and spiritual instruction. A copy of the Rudimenta Artis Grammaticae by John Vaus (Edinburgh, 1566) shows this tendency in a sixteenth century textbook. This copy, now in the Huntingdon Library, has been copiously annotated and expanded by one James Jack of Aberdeen between 1571 and 1573.[125] A detailed analysis of the material added to the printed work would provide valuable evidence of some of the texts in use in Aberdeen at this period, a useful corrective to later curricula. Such an analysis is beyond the scope of this present chapter but it may be worthwhile to list the contents.

Jack transcribes the whole or part of seven works, two of which are familiar from Murray's list: Sulpitius' De Moribus[126] and Cato's Distichs,[127] though the latter contains more than simply the collection of moral couplets. Both are familiar school textbooks, as is the Vocabula of John Stanbridge, collections of vocabulary in hexameter verse with vernacular annotations.[128] Here again is evidence that the vernacular was indispensable at the elementary level. Approximately one sixth of Cicero's oration Pro Quinctio is copied out, a more recondite text. The group opens with a list of colloquial expressions with translations into Scots entitled 'Latini sermonis formule pro elementariis'.[129] It consists chiefly of schoolroom dialogue:

> Da mihi instructionem lectionis mee precor
>
> gif me ane kennyng of my lessone I pray ȝow.

But later develops into religious 'formule salutandi':

> Salve puer iesu esto mihi semper iesus
>
> Haill babie Iesu be ewre safior to me.

On fol. 26 there commences an elegiac poem headed 'Carmen elegum de lubrico tempore curriculo [sic] deque humane vite miseris'. This poem, a competent arrangement of familiar topoi not unlike the Zodiacus Vitae of Palingenius is, as yet, untraced.[130] The remaining piece is a straightforward grammatical aid headed 'Memoriale puerorum nominum et verborum'.[131] Here are collected nouns and verbs of similar type in rather ungainly hexameter mnemonics. This list begins with verbs that reduplicate in the perfect tense:

> Quinque et viginti tibi preteritum geminabunt
>
> ut mordeo caedo cado curro et prae pendeo pendo
>
> do tendo...

We have observed the continued use of such aides-memoire in the text-books of Alexander, Despauter and Carmichael. The Rudimenta of Vaus did not include them but James Jack dutifully transcribes nine folios of them to supplement his textbook.

We have seen that two works by Andrew Duncan, Rudimenta Pietatis (Edinburgh, 1595) and the second section of Studiorum Puerilium Clavis, found inclusion in the extended Dunbar Rudiments of the seventeenth centry. His other two works, Latinae Grammaticae, Pars Prior (Edinburgh, 1595) and Appendix Etymologiae ad Copiam Exemplorum (Edinburgh, 1595) deserve some attention. The latter, as the title indicates, was intended to accompany the formertext and provide a Latin-English vocabulary missing from the body of the main work. Latin-English glossaries were still something of a rarety. Most grammars, for example, those of Hume, Carmichael and the abridged Despauter, provided translations of Latin words in italics within the text. Duncan holds this material back for inclusion in his word-list. Of all the Scottish Grammars of this period only the Dunbar Rudiments makes no allowance for vernacular aids.

The Latinae Grammaticae, Pars Prior is the most important and coherent of Duncan's works. Subsequent practical considerations and revised intentions turned what might have been the Pars Altera or Secunda into a decidedly supplementary work. Like Gaul, this second book, Studiorum Puerilium Clavis is divided into three parts. The first part consists of tables of conjugations and declensions absent from the Etymologia. As such it resembles the Rudimenta of Thomas Linacre, though the tabular arrangement recommends it as a more modern

approach to the nouns and verbs, at least typographically. The second part is the 'Elementa Sintaxeos' which outlines the rules for combining parts of speech and the problems of word order. Duncan runs through each of the word-classes and explains how each affects the cases of nouns and pronouns. There were of course many ways of arranging such material, but the fact that the 'Elementa Sintaxeos' followed the 'Constructionis praecepta' in the Dunbar Rudiments suggests that Duncan's method was considered to be a useful clarification of the latter. Finally Duncan appended the 'Elementa Poeticae', an explication of the rules of prosody, he explains their inclusion thus:

> Haec paucilla ex Poeticis huc traduxi,ut cum scirem expedire, ut tenera aetasab ipsis studiorum incunabulis in paraphrasi Psalmorum poetica D. Buchanani; idque genus aliis exerceatur, versus nosse, et dimetiri mature inciperet.[132]

Given freedom of choice, I suspect Duncan would have removed all verse from the elementary syllabus. Certainly he is highly critical of its use as a memory aid in the teaching of grammar. However the Psalm Paraphrases of Buchanan were so established a part of elementary educaion, chiefly for religious reasons, that some guide to their metres was essential. Buchanan's own Prosodia was a more advanced text, to be used in conjunction with the Roman poets in the fourth and fifth classes. As Duncan's introduction implies it is the Psalms that supply him with illustrations. The famous opening lines of Psalm CXXXVII are quoted as an example of an elegiac couplet: 'Dum procul a Patria maesti Babilonis in oris,/ Fluminis ad liquidas forte sedemus aquas'.[133]

Let us return to the Etymologia. Although the dedicatory epistle is addressed to the councillors and people of Dundee, where Duncan was teaching, there is some evidence to suggest that the work was intended to be used at least in St. Andrews as well. Certainly Duncan received some encouragement from that city. The Etymologia contains liminary verses by a number of St. Andreans: Robert Wilkie the Principal of St. Leonards, John Johnston, Professor of Theology at St. Marys, and John Echlin, a regent at St. Leonards. In addition there are commendatory poems by the minister Thomas Ramsay and by David Lyndsay, designated 'S.S. Theologiae candidatus.' The place also appears in examples in the text. In chapter seven of the 'Elementa Syntaxeos', illustrating the use of the locative case we find 'Ubi studes? Taodum. Habitat Andreapoli'. It would be dangerous to be too dogmatic here but generally a grammarian will use local examples relevant to his audience in such a case. Wedderburn turns to Aberdeen, Hume and Symson to Edinburgh for their illustrations. References to St. Andrews and Dundee appear only in Duncan's works. Reversing the direction of the popular ballad, the road to St. Andrews becomes a striking image in Duncan's mind:

> Loquatur circumforeanus e faece, Andreapolin iturus, utram viam ingressurus sit. Expeditam, planam? an absque necessitate, longam, perplexam, salebris ac anfractibus impeditam? At ad sermonis usum Grammatica via est.[134]

John Echlin's poem asks the perennial question, echoing Buchanan:

Quid tandem fit, hic novus magister
Cur a Grammaticae rei peritus
Post tot Grammaticas subinde scriptas
Suam istam in mediwn quoque exhiberet?[135]

Echlin himself answers with a further question:

Quare quis tetrica amplius senescat
In Despauterii Schola, teratve
Doctrinale Dei deinde, qui non
Malit nunc quoque, frugibus repertis,
Cum Porcis fatuas vorare glandes? [136]

As we shall see in the case of Alexander Hume, there were colleagues of the grammarian inclined to more radical action than the writer himself. Interestingly that dissenting voice also comes from St. Andrews in its Melvillian era. There is an undisguised sense of impatience in Echlin's words. Duncan is more reserved in his criticisms of Despauter at least in his prefaces. He knew, as well as Hume, the strength of the conservative commitment to Despauter and is careful not to upset it unduly:

> Omnia tamen sic explicavi, ut Despauterii vestigia tanquam Thesei filum sequutus, ex eius laboribus omnia prope hauserim: ne adolescentibus Grammatices Despauterianae studiosis, aut Despauterianum professis, profitentibusve, ullum preiudicium afferrem, moramve studiorum inijcerem. Ut hoc laboris quicquid est, Despauterii: meam duntaxat esse lucem et brevitatem libere atque ingenue fatear. [137]

There is recognition here of a problem indicated in the Privy Council debates: a change of textbook in mid-stream could not fail to be detrimental to a learner's progress.[138] Hence the intention to work hand in hand with Despauter. Nevertheless, behind his plea of orthodoxy, Duncan is capable of deviating from Despauter's thread. Pronouns, for example, are introduced at a later stage in the order of word-classes and Duncan spends more time on definition and classification. Indeed the raison d'être of his Etymologia is the reaction against the obscurities and difficulties of the old system typified by Despauter, under which his Dundonian pupils suffered.

The line of Duncan's argument will be familiar from both Kirkwood and Hume and may well have been instrumental in forming their own. There is unmistakeable evidence that Kirkwood used the Etymologia (without acknowledgment) in his critique of Despauter. Duncan's call for a simplified approach to grammar stems from a new liberal or humanitarian attitude to school discipline which we will see gaining strength in the seventeenth century:

> Schola ludus est, non carcer, aut carnificina. Amore alicienda sunt tenera illa ingenia, non trahenda timore.[139]

Kirkwood found the evocative term 'carnificina' irresistible and used it in the Grammatica Facilis.[140] It is no less cruel, continues Duncan, to lead one's pupils through the backwaters of linguistics:

> Nec minorem fieri iniuriam deierare ausim, molli isti ac herbescenti aetati, dum regularum istarum prolixitate ac multitudine, et obscurarum, superfluarumque exceptionum

> ac glossarum farragine sic deprimuntur...[141]

Duncan singles out familiar targets with familiar words, but again we must remember that he was writing almost a century before Kirkwood borrowed his vocabulary. He shuns the inclusion 'obscurarum regularum, ac spinosarum quaestionum' and verse, 'obscuritatis et difficultatis parens', employing the well-worn difficilior argument:

> Hoc tamen scio, nil esse absurdius quam materiae obscurae obscuriori forma superinducta, omnia tenebris involvere et obscurare.[142]

Thus he replaces the obscurity of ungainly hexameters, 'ineptorum in multis, et semi-latinorum' with a more accessible explication in prose. Andrew Duncan's attitude to the teaching of Latin marks a significant departure in the post-Renaissance history of the subject. Although acknowledging that a training in Latin Grammar was a necessary first step in the acquisition of advanced skills in both this and in other languages 'tam erudito saeculo, et tot linguarum ac disciplinarum generibus exuberanti', he recognizes that the complexities of the tongue had little relevance or interest to those not pursuing an academic career:

> Tot enim regulas cumulare, aut graecismos et exceptiones omnes persequi, et vanum, et supervacaneum existimavi. Quid haec, et pleraque id genus ad eos, qui ad mercaturam, ad nauticam, ad agriculturam, ad sartoriam, aut sutoriam suas cogitationes dejiciunt..[143]

Such practical considerations are contained significantly in the epistola addressed to his fellow Dundonians, for whom they had particular relevance. The educational reforms proposed in the First Book of Discipline had sought to secure a rudimentary training for all.[144] Educational practice had not kept pace with its increased availability. If an elementary knowledge of Latin was still considered essential, the text book imparting that knowledge should not presuppose that its recipients would advance beyond it.

Although two parts of Duncan's grammatical corpus were frequently reprinted there is no indication that his main work, the Etymologia, received widespread contemporary approval. It may well be that his was the kind of local unilateralism in the absence of national policy disapproved of by the Privy Council. It is with the work of Alexander Hume, begun at about the time Duncan's works were printed, that we arrive at an individual who made significant progress towards national recognition of his contribution.

It would be impossible here to treat exhaustively the Grammatica Nova of Alexander Hume and he alone of the Scottish grammarians (excepting Ruddiman) has received some attention elsewhere. Moreover Hume's method is so individual - characterised by Padley as a mixed approach [145] - that it would require particular treatment of each instance of Hume's deviation from the tradition - what Hume calls 'vulgus' - to do him justice. However, as has been stated, the rare presence of a grammarian who fully describes his research and his reaction to it, and his textbook's claim to being the approved grammar of Scotland for a number of years between 1611 and 1630, oblige us

to discuss his writing at least to some extent.

It would be worthwhileat the outset to describe, as far as it presently possible, the extent of his writings. Wheatley's assumption, in his edition of an English tract Of the Orthographie and Congruitie of the Britan Tongue that this is the work of the grammarian (there being a number of Alexander Humes in existence at this time) is proved by the prefaces to the two works.[146] The attribution to Julius Caesar of a work on grammar penned in the heat of a civil war is made in both as an indication of the importance of the subject.[147] In addition, the method of the second book of Orthographie has much in common with the grammatical treatise and Hume's interestin pronunciation as shown in the vernacular treatise comes to the fore in the 'Schola' to the first chapter of the 'Etymologia'. Page 18 of the E.E.T.S. edition, as pointed out by Wheatley, clinches the question of authorship of the Rejoynder to Doctor Hill printed by Waldegrave in 1593 (though three years before Hume is believed to have returned to Scotland). A Diduction of the true and Catholik meaning... was also printed by Waldegrave in 1602.

There were two grammatical works: the Grammatica Nova and Prima Elementa Grammaticae, both published in 1612. The prefatory letter to the latter suggests that it was printed second. Here Hume mentions a suggestion made to him - partly to show his openness to advice - that diphthongs might with more justification be included under syllables than under vowels.[148] That this alteration is to be found only in the Elementa leads us to suppose that it was printed after the Grammatica Nova.

The opening oration on the visit of King James to Scotland in 1617 was also the work of the schoolmaster and not of another Alexander Hume, as Nichols believed.[149] The subject matter of the speech, with its detailed account of Scottish history is clearly by the man so interested in Buchanan's Historia. Hume compiled an epitome of the History to be used in schools, a transcription of which is to be found in the National Library of Scotland. The two elegiac poems which follow the oration in The Muses Welcome are likely then to be his also, the only printed verse by Hume which we possess.[150] This leaves three religious pieces, the Treatise of Conscience, Of the Felicitie of the world to come and Four Discourses, all printed in 1594 and attributed by McCrie to the grammarian, but likely to be the work of Alexander Hume, minister of Logie.[151]

To Wheatley's information concerning his later life we may add a little more from the later volumes of the Privy Council Register. In the early 1630s, Hume was still engaged in the struggle to ensure a monopoly for his textbook, by then against the rival claims of David Wedderburn's Short Introduction to Grammar.[152] By March 1631 when it was granted to Wedderburn to print his work, Hume had effectively lost the war; it was a matter of negotiating terms.[153] On 21 July 1631 Wedderburn agreed to the payment of one thousand marks in compensation.[154] Although Alexander Hume was still alive at this point - and according to the Register still teaching - the negotiations were being conducted by his son John, also a teacher at the Grammar School in Dunbar. Hume must have been at least seventy by this date and we are not surprised to find that he has

ceased to handle his defence in person. Upward of fifty years teaching in school and a desperately protracted struggle over his grammar must have taken its toll.

Hume informs us in the prefatory epistle to Grammatica Nova that he began work on a new grammar after his return to Edinburgh, where he succeeded Hercules Rollock as rector of the High School in April 1596.[155] (Subsequently, he moved to Prestonpans and then Dunbar). More specifically, the epistle to Alexander Seton, dated October 1608, speaks of ten years spent on the project.[156] This would make it almost contemporaneous with a 1597 Act of Parliament confirming prior negotiations in the Privy Council over the search for a national grammar.[157] We cannot but imagine that Hume was partly responsible for the renewed interest in high places. That same connection we may well also draw between the 1607 Act nominating a 'Commissionn anent grammer and teacheris thairof' and Hume's primer, as it neared or had reached completion.

Since we will make frequent reference to the Grammatica Nova, it would be worthwhile to outline its contents. The work opens with two prefatory epistles, one to Alexander Seton, Lord Fyvie (sigs. A2-3), and one 'Ad Lectorem' summarising his methods and the background to composition (A4). There follows the body of the text consisting of two books of etymology and three of syntax (B1-H4r). The second half of the book, separately signed in 8s and paginated, begins with another address 'Ad Lectorem' stressing the importance ofgrammar and outlining the moves in the Privy Council to outlaw Despauter (A1-2r). In this letter Hume speaks of 'iam totos sexdecem annos' involved

in the work and we may well be safe to assume that it was written nearer the time of going to press in 1612. Hume goes on to describe a model course of Latin teaching (in the tradition of Ascham and Vives) in a Παραινεσις 'Ad Parentes, Tutores, et Praeceptores Iuventutis Scoticae' (A2v - 6r). The rest of the work comprises notes ('Schola Grammatica') or commentary on individual chapters of the text (A7 - H3) and a final leaf of corrections.

As his prefaces to the Grammatica Nova and the elaborate 'Schola' make clear, Hume is no plagiarist of others' grammatical studies, nor their slavish imitator. If Ramus is his model most frequently in arrangement and division of material, Hume is not slow to diverge from his master's path, as for example in the treatment of the declension of nouns. Since this concern was a prime mover in Hume's initial disaffection with traditional grammatology, it may be helpful here to outline his approach.

He explains in the opening epistle 'Ad Lectorem' that in the course of learning Latin via Despauter and later teaching it via Lily he had become dissatisfied with the age-old method of subdividing the noun class:

> Nam cum genus nominum ingenioso sane commento a genitivo metitur: visus est mihi tamen ab obscuriore, vel aeque saltem obscuro lucem petere.[158]

We have, of course, met with the 'ab obscuriore' argument before in another context. Hume's decision was to particularize nouns, not by their genitive endings, but by the overall pattern of their declensions.[159]

Behind the whole method lies a desire to apply Ramist logic to every possible class of noun, forcing anomalous types or heteroclites to the far perimeter, and greatly reducing their number. As such, it harks back to the debate in Greek grammatology between anomaly and analogy. A clear description of Hume's plan is difficult to achieve and illustrates why so many disciples of Ramus resorted to diagrams. Indeed it is puzzling that Hume did not recommend their inclusion to this printer. Most Ramists found them irresistible. The following is a simplified account of the pattern.

Hume begins by dividing the noun class into those which decline and those (like nefas, satis or necesse) which do not. This at least follows a traditional line of division, since most sixteenth century grammars separated parts of speech into declinable and non-declinable. Hume's concern is with the former group which he splits into anoma and ennoma. The translation irregular and regular would not be helpful here, so let us resort to the Greek roots of the words and translate them as outside the system and within the system. Of the former class Hume names seven: the three singular personal pronouns, the demonstrative hic, the relative pronoun qui, plus ambo and duo. The ennoma group is then subdivided into anologa and paraloga. Here we might use the terms regular and irregular. The paraloga class are held back for later analysis, whilst the regular are further split into justa and contracta.. The latter consists of nouns of what we would call the fourth declension, where the original genitive ending -uis or uos has contracted to -us and similarly the plural -ues into -us. The original endings are still to be found even in Classical Latin, but later grammarians broke the link with the third declension.

Since Hume's later distinctions rest on the number of syllables in the terminations it was important to stress this contracted form.

There follows the crucial division of justa into paris yllaba and imparissylaba. I quote from the English Rudiments of Ramus:

> D How many kinds of Declensions are there?
>
> M Two: one having even sillables, an other having un-even sillables.
>
> D What is a Declension having even sillables?
>
> M It is a declension whose dative case plurall ending in is. hath even sillables with the Nominative singular, as musa musis, dominus dominis. 16

Following Ramus, Hume distinguishes two types, corresponding to our first and second declensions. It is in the treatment of imparisyllaba that Hume radically revises Ramus' categorisation.

We are now at the heart of the matter: the attempt to impose order upon the amorphous third declension with its irregularities and variant forms. Ramus distinguishes two kinds of imparisyllaba: 'that, whose dative case plural is of uneven sillables with the nominative singular' and 'that, whose genitive case singular doth increase: and is of Nounes of the masculine Gender.' Haphazardly incorporated into these two types are a host of nouns which do not perfectly fit into the scheme. But, asks Hume, by what reasoning can the nouns of the first kind be thus defined? If a noun is described as imparisyllabum by virtue of the increase in syllables in one case (since dative and ablative plurals are essentially the same), then no noun may truly be considered part of the parisyllaba class 'quando genitivus pluralis omnium est imparisyllabus.' Moreover:

Ille declinationes, quas vulgus quartam et quintam vocat, anomalias huius imparisyllabae declinationis facit.[161]

As will be evident, the argument is over which scheme most comprehensively incorporates the anomalies of the system. But we might with some justification ask why Hume does not abandon a model so patently anomalous in itself. However, Hume persists with it, and offers his alternative division of imparis yllaba: nouns genuinely increasing by one or more syllables (such as iter or aequor), and those popularly known as fifth declension nouns.

We now return to an earlier subdivision and the category paraloga, defined as those 'quae ab analogia deficiunt'. These in turn are heteroclita or anomala. Traditionally these two terms were synonymous but Hume characteristically makes a distinction:

Ego Heteroclita distinctionis causa voco, quae in leges incrementi peccant, Anomala quae in leges casuum.[162]

The class anomala consists of nouns which unpredictably change declension, contract or lose cases, and it would be fruitless to pursue the Grammarian down any more divided alleyways. Heteroclita are, naturally enough, split into those of the imparis yllaba which increase (as filia, filiabus) and those of the paris yllaba which do not (cubile, cubilis, or mater, matris). We might legitimately wonder here why third declension nouns such as civis or apes were not included in the original paris yllaba class. It would seem that the traditional five declensions and their categorisation by ending - that is, by genitive endings, - exert an irresistible pull. Hume breaks with the conven-

tion by relocating irregular first declension nouns (filia, dea etc.), but falls back when dealing with the piscis and frater group. Further analysis of the laws of contraction may well have freed him from this trap.

The above may serve to illustrate some aspects of Hume's method and the difficulties involved in summarising it. At the best of times Ramistic method does not lend itself to epitome. We cannot fail to recognize the thoughtfulness with which Humes sorts his material. 'De his aliquot dies haesitavi, quid statuerem', he tells us at one point. His method is frequently more rigorous than that of Ramus, but, paradoxically, attempts to assimilate the old grammatical categories. The tension between these two poles can often be felt. Similarly there is confusion - for example in the treatment of the fourth declension - between a descriptive approach, using the resources of historical analysis, and a prescriptive. This of course is a recurrent problem in Classical grammatology, and an often unrecognized danger in the concentration on usus in the Renaissance. A weakness of Hume is to allow that descriptive end to dislocate the method of what was, after all, a teaching text.

Returning to Hume's sources; as references in the prefaces reveal, Linacre is a strong influence, again with certain adjustments and clarifications:

illius praecepta in ordinem pro meo captu redigo;illius exemplo ex auctoribus momenta omnia observo: dum curva dirigo; nodosa explico.[163]

However, Hume is sparing in his employment of examples: 'Ad singula praecepta ex optimis quibusque auctoribus exempla selectissima adhibeo'.[164] Most often he searches for a quotation from Terence to illustrate his point, with the intention that his grammar fit into the teaching system and curriculum outlined in the

> Deinde ad Terentium pergito, neque prius Grammaticam ipsam ordine, quam Terentium ad praecepta illa communia, quae in Rudimentis habes, sine heaesitatione, aut peccato possit exigere. Exemplo quid suadeam, fiet facile.[165]

Hume's disaffection with Lily, whom, following his own tenets regarding orthography, he calls Laelius, having taught this grammar in England 'legibus coactus', does not prevent him at times from following the Englishman's example.[166] But Despauter is given little mercy: 'Cumque in ejus carmine hic obscuritas, illic barbaries, ubique methodus displiceret'.[167] The criticism of Despauter's verses is by now familiar, though their lapses into medieval patterns of versification have not been pointed out. However, as the attitude of Brinsley, Kirkwood and Ruddiman show, the case against mnemonics was not cut and dried, though Despauter's verse needed cleansing. But Hume recognizes that it was his country's devotion to Despauter that stood in his way: 'opinio hominum et consuetudo gentis', or, as he writes more severely in the Schola 'quem nostri mordicus defendunt'.

One other writer provokes Hume's wrath, as indicated in a mysterious note to the ninth chapter of 'De Syntaxi liber primus'.[168] He is dealing with the use of the dative after a verb 'put acquisitively',

as the Eyght Partes of Speache phrases it:

> Henr. Primaeus, qui in Syntaxin Erasmi commentatur, definit, quod ex constitutione, non natura significationis commodum, aut incommodum importat. Quod, quomodo acquisitivi nomen definiat: appello eum, quamvis iniquissimum judicem, qui haec nobis non ut insolentia, et incocta ante aliquot dies edidit, et juventuti Edinburgenae commendavit.

Prime edited with a commentary the De Octo Orationis Partium Constructione Libellus written by Lily and revised by Erasmus, which was printed at Antwerp in 1536 and elsewhere. Clearly he is not the 'iniquissinum judicem' referred to. I have no solution to this mystery to offer but the suggestion that the attack may possibly be directed against John Ray, Hume's successor as rector of Edinburgh High School. The two men were certainly not on amicable terms, and it was Ray that led the assault on Hume's textbook in 1623 when both appeared before the Commission and were found:

> to disagrie in mony essentiall pointis of the said grammer, as namelie towcheing the obscuritie thairof, as passing the capacitie of the youthe to consave the same..'[169]

Towards the end of the above schola Hume begins to apply the full force of Ramist logic to the issue but finally draws back with the promise: 'Ad logicam plenam disquisitionem differo, in quasi Deus vitam, et otium dederit meam operam etiam polliceor'.[170] It would appear that God did not grant him that request and the reference remains a puzzle. There does not seem to a printed work, by Ray or anyone else, dedicated

to the youth of Edinburgh, which might plausibly be at issue.

Hume ranges widely amongst the Classical and Renaissance grammarians but he is not content simply to recover and resurrect Classical theory: The phrase 'didiceram puer, credidi adultus' is a significant prelude to his discussion of the thorny subject of mood, indicative of a recognizable anxiety of influence. According to the preface 'Ad Lectorem' he was encouraged by David Barclay that there had been a grammatical theory, 'vocabula artis', before Priscian, nor did his successors shirk from improving upon him 'ut non sit nefas rectiora, et εὐλαχλοτερα invenire'.[171] In consequence, 'de hoc consilio coepi majora audere' such that even the opinion of Donatus is weighed in the scales of Latin usage:

> Quis Romanorum ita locutus. Non est ferendum ne Donatum quidem, quamvis latinum, quod in latino usu non est fingere. Itaque huius rei Goclenio, quam re vera meruit gratiam habe.[172]

It is enlightening to see this attitude to authority paralleled in Hume's religious writing. Whilst a schoolmaster in Bath he engaged in a controversy, initially good-natured, later with more venom, with Adam Hyll, an Oxford theologian, over the article of Christ's descent into Hell from the Apostle's Creed. Hume had written to Hyll criticizing the original sermon, but stressing his own openness to conversion: 'I am not maryed to mine opinion, but if any man can bring me better proofs, I am content to yeelde'.[173] We have encountered elsewhere that Hume found it psychologically important to give the impression of open-mindedness.

The disagreement with Hyll ultimately depends upon a reading of the word Hell but touches upon other areas of Protestant (and Catholic) dogma. The second section of Hume's letter to Hyll (as divided by the latter) reads:

> Wherefore to grow to the matter, I see no cause why you should thinke better of Augustine and Ierome, then of Beza and Calvine, for they were all but men, and they which now are old, were sometimes new. They had no better warrant of Gods spirit than these; and errors in those dayes were so thicke sowen, that there grew darnell in the best fieldes, even of them whome wee most admire. I speake not this to discredit the Fathers, but to prove that they were no gods.[174]

Calvinist doctrine was not always so liberating, but for an intellectual like Hume it appears to have been so. This strand of thought is clearly evident in his approach to grammar and deserves to be taken into account. We would do Doctor Hyll an injustice not to recall his reply which was (naturally) to counter scepticism with scepticism, answering that present times were no less 'thicke sowen' with errors than past. This in turn plays into the hands of the Calvinist, whose objective is to dismantle the hierarchy of authority, not to the end of absolute relativism, but so that the most plausible explanation or definition (or hypothesis) be adopted. If we return to Latin grammar and bear in mind that usus is the ultimate corrective and not empirically observed reality, this is not far from the methodology of seventeenth century scientific thought refined by Bacon.

The issue of usus is crucial to Hume's design and he leaves no doubt that he follows the lead of Ascham in that superannuated debate between precept and use. 'In auctoribus Grammaticam exerceant', he writes. Indeed the Prima Elementa Grammaticae exemplifies the culmination of that theory.[175] Here Hume applies the fully operational Ramistic model of binary division, prints the obligatory conjugations and declensions but leaves the full complexity of the language to be illustrated by the students' reading: 'haec, si reliqua discipulis libet inter usum subjicere, pro justa grammatica facile sufficiant'.[176] Yet Hume is enough of a theorist to allow this proviso:

> Ab hac sententia (of Ascham's) hoc tantum absum: quod post mediocrem latinae linguae usum integram grammaticam volenti serio latine scire, proponendam esse censeam

- a progress that would ultimately lead back to his Grammatica Nova.

Yet the longer work is not simply a grammar more advanced than the Rudimenta in the manner of the De Emendata Structura, the Brevissima Institution or Wedderburn's Institutiones Grammaticae. It is as much a treatise on grammatology and a justification of method and an answer to critics alarmed by the radical nature of the elementary work. Such nervousness is hinted at in the preface to the Prima Elementa, referred to above. Hume incorporates the proposed re-definition of diphthongs 'ne quis me putet per oblivionem methodum mutasse'. He clearly thinks that some of his modifications might be mistaken as ignorance by blinkered critics.

If the scenario Hume depicts is of a potentially hostile public,

he does appear to have received considerable help and advice in the course of composition. Of Alexander Seton he is highly complimentary, both as patron and adviser. In the prefatory matter to the 'Schola' he compares Seton's encouragement to that of Thomas More for Lily. These kinds of parallels are frequently drawn of course in dedications, but Lord Fyvie's interest in literature and scholarship is well attested elsewhere. Obviously too the complement is intended also to reflect on Hume's claim to being the Scottish national grammarian. An early draft of the grammar, more conservative in its reliance on Priscian, Valla and others, was shown to Andrew Melville 'et aliis amicis' who was no doubt pleased by its Ramist outline. But advice was sollicited on individual points too. Patrick Sandis, a man respected as much for his European travels as for his academic reputation, offers a definition of persona surmounting Linacre's dual definition. Hume was not entirely satisfied with the logical integrity of the idea, as a footnote to the volume shows, but allows it to stand in the interim.[177] David Hume of Godscroft, 'gentilis meus' as Hume calls him, suggested that his relation rewrite the whole matter of punctuation, the contemporary rules of which Hume admits to finding inadequate.[178] The impression we get here and from Barclay's encouragement is that there were enough scholars content to see the entire traditional fabric of grammar overthrown and replaced. Again this intellectual climate should be taken into account when we examine Hume's work.

Alexander Hume speaks with respect of two other contemporaries in the Schola: Mark Beumler or Baumler who published dialectical interpretations of various works by Cicero and Plutarch, and the Ramist

Rodolph Goclen,whose Observationum Linguae Latinae...Analecta was printed at Frankfurt in 1601.[179] Hume's reading was wide and up to date and though neither author is mentioned by Padley they contributed almost as much to the final effect as the ancient theorists. Goclen in particular won Hume's admiration.

From such references we can begin to construct a picture of the circles in which the grammarian moved, a picture which ought to have been drawn long ago. Mention of Melville and other friends indicates contacts with the whole Melville and Johnston circle and their supporters and colleagues on the continent. Baumler was a mutual friend of John Johnston and Caspar Waser, and none of Johnston's letters to the Zurich Professor omit greetings to Baumler and his Zurich colleagues.[180] David Barclay, an early confidant in the scheme, contributed liminary verses to Johnston's Heroes ex Omni Historia Scotica (Leyden, 1603) and Casaubon's De Rebus Sacris...Exercitationes XVI (London, 1614). His Edinburgh connections are confirmed by his verses on the death of Robert Rollock, first principal of the Tounis College. Another contact may well have been James Glegg, the Dundee schoolmaster, formerly a regent at St. Salvator's. Glegg was a member of the 1623 Committee and later, along with Robert Williamson, resisted the attempt to impose Wedderburn's primer on the schools. As a St. Andrews man (he wrote verses for the Wallace obituary volume) he may well have preferred Hume's work.[181] Godscroft's links with the Presbyterian left are well known.[182]

If we suspect political causes partly to have undermined the moves towards a national grammar in the 1580s, we may do so again in consider-

ing the fate of Hume's two volumes. The latter's connections with the theological activists in St. Andrews seem positive enough. His support for Robert Bruce, the Edinburgh minister and another dissenting voice from the king's ecclesiastical policies, is attested by the 1602 work.[183] His enthusiasm for Buchanan would appear to be proved by his résumé of the Historia in the National Library of Scotland. Add to this his move to the Grammar School at Prestonpans, established by another restless radical John Davidson, and we gain the impression of a man not made to endear himself to the more conservative elements of the Scottish establishment.

This may be the place to interject some additional scraps of information concerning Hume's sojourn in England. When Hume finally published his side of the controversy with Adam Hyll, containing the original letter, Hyll's reply and his own refutation of it, the work was dedicated to the Earl of Essex.[184] The preface contained in addition a favourable mention of John Rainolds, the prominent Oxford theologian. Rainolds, a man of Puritan and Calvinist learnings, was undoubtedly popular among Scots, and Melville wrote of him with approbation in his Anti-tami-cami Categoria of 1604:

...neque celsa summi

Penna Renoldi,

Certa sublimes aperire calles,

Sueta coelestes iterare cursus,

Laeta misceri niveis beatae

Civibus aulae.[185]

In 1586 he had been elected to a lectureship in controversial theology, founded by Francis Walsingham. According to the DNB, the lectureship was not continued after Walsingham's death in April 1590.[186] Fowler, in his History of Corpus Christi College, shares these doubts about the fate of the post but quotes from William Fulman's Collectanea:

> Sir Francis Walsingham dying, April 13, 1590, the Earl of Essex, who had married his only daughter, continued the lecture, which, accordingly, Reynolds resumed, May 5, 1590.[187]

Hume's preface seems to confirm Fulman's information:

> Adde that M.D. Reynoldes, (the load starre of Oxenford) whom your honour hath maintained there to confute the Fryar Bellarmine...[188]

Understandably then, Rainolds dedicated his De Romae Ecclesiae Idolatria (Oxford, 1586) to the nobleman who had supported the lectureship upon which much of this work was based.

The Bodleian copy of Hume's Rejoynder has on the flyleaf the manuscript inscription 'To Mr Doctor Reinoldes'.[189] It would not be surprising if this copy was a personal gift from the author, but that conclusion awaits further palaeographical investigation. On the otherwise blank A2v are two elegiac couplets in the same hand addressed 'ad Essexium'. Such manuscript verses deserve printing whether they be by Hume or not:

Non addit lampas splendenti lumina Phoevo
augent nec lucem lumina nostra tuam.
Si fugio damnum minitantis fulmina nubis:
hoc claris radiis debeo clare tuis.

If the verses are by Hume the implication is that the controversy with Hyll got him into deeper water than we at first anticipated, and needed Essex to bail him out. Pending further research the role of Robert Devereux in this affair must remain shadowy.

The facts surrounding the demise of Hume's project are the by now familiar tale of deliberation, procrastination and de facto rejection. As before the story can be reconstructed from the preface to the work in question and from a number of entries in the Register of the Privy Council.

The reasons lying behind the decision to outlaw Despauter did not, and do not, need to be outlined again, though Hume makes much of the benefits accruing from such a change. He, like Carmichael before him, could claim actual experience of the effects of centralisation (or nationalisation) south of the border, and his clarion call reminds us of Carmichael at several points:

Si magistratus est non minus ipsos cives, quam res civium curare, civitatisque seminarium schola est: prima prudentium laus est scholas curare, fontem purgare, rivos propagare, ut haec seges non tantum bonos,sed etiam doctos, et sapientes cives proferat.[190]

Here again is that word seminarium and the image of the purified fount, echoing Buchanan.[191] Where Carmichael speaks of the struggle with Catholicism, Hume returns to the parallel of Caesar and the Bellum Civile. It is at our discretion how far we would draw those parallels. A century later we find Ruddiman returning to the same metaphor of 'recourse to the Fountain itself' and the same defence of grammar as 'the gateway and foundation of higher knowledge and of true learning'.[192]

Hume goes on to outline the initial successes of the project, instigated 'apud senatum' by Seton and set before a committee consisting of Thomas Henderson and Adam King representing the interests of the Kirk (though King was also a respected latinist in his own right), James Sandilands and William Seton(Alexander's younger brother) and Patrick Sandis, a veteran of grammatical campaigns. It is the last named and Lord Fyvie himself that are singled out for praise by William Cummings in the piece appended to Kirkwood's Grammatica Facilis which draws heavily on Hume's 'Ad Lectorem'.[193] The entry in The Register of The Privy Council for 17 June, 1623 indicates that Hume for one saw the move as an extension of the work begun under Buchanan:

> The said Mr Alexander, after his returne within this kingdome, finding the bussynes to be deferred and neglectit, and in a maner deserted be thame to whose charge it was committit, he undertooke the same and imployed his studyis to bring that work to perfectioun after the most facile maner that could be, answerable to the capacitie of the youthe...[194]

This argument is confirmed by the act of Parliament of 1607 establishing yet another committee, headed by Alexander Seton, to look into the establishment of a grammar 'to be universallie teacheit in all the pairtis of this realme'.[195] The wording of the act reiterates that of the 1593 Privy Council report which, as we have seen, is based on James Carmichaels' preface to his Etymology of 1587. The act simply adds an explanation - that of plague - to the problem of pupils changing school. The commission established in 1607 was to consider the options:

> that thar shall be ane satlit forme of the best and maist commoun and approviin grammer and all pairtis thairof collectit establischit and prentit.

Perhaps it was this return to the concept of a textbook of multiple parts that persuaded Finlason to cash in his hand and print the second part of Dunbar's Rudiments, and that led to the dismantling of Duncan's Clavis.

In October 1611 the committee returned, 'cum amplius anno ad justam trutinam examinassent' and decided in favour of Hume's work

> he haveing,with grite panes, travill and labour, maid ane new collectioun of the haill partis of grammar and rudimentis thairof, and reducit the same in ane volume in a vere easie forme and method, ansuerable to the capacitie of the youthis who ar to be trayned up in leirning...[196]

Again the wording here is significant. There is recognition of

Hume's claim of ten years' work on the grammar. Similar recognition, in almost identical terms, was accorded to Wedderburn's work in 1632 'having with great panes and travellis framed and drawn up ane grammar'.[197] Douglas Duncan[198] thinks Gilbert Burnet to be 'the first Scotsman to rebel against the severity and thoroughness of Scottish grammar-teaching' and quotes the latter's invective against Despauter as being

> so tedious, so crabbed, and unpleasant, that it serves rather to scarre than to invite boyes. There is no need for learning anomalys, or all particular rules, by grammaire; for these are best taught by practise; and to force boyes to get so many barbarous rules by heart, is to torture rather than to teach them.[199]

However it will have become evident to the reader that this had been a matter of contention since the first wave of attacks upon Despauter in the 1580s. Nor should Scotland be considered isolationist in this regard. The influence of Comenius was clearly felt in the seventeenth century, as was Ascham's stress on usus in the sixteenth, an issue stemming at least from the so-called Grammarians' war of 1519-21. Burnet's use of the word 'torture', like Kirkwood's 'carnificina' indicates that we ought to set this trend in the wider context of an increasing abhorrence of the medieval schoolmaster's strong-arm tactics and use of the rod, a feature disavowed by a number of educational theorists from Ascham to Aubrey. Moreover the report recognizes the practical advantages accruing from a single textbook rather than a series of texts graded in difficulty, as envisaged in

1579, 1593 and 1607.

On 21 July, 1612 the decision in favour of Hume was reinforced by a penalty of £100 for the use of any other grammar.[200] 'For some shorte space, as the Register describes in 1623, the policy took effect. Nevertheless it seems unlikely that the monopoly was adequately policed or operated, schoolmasters being reluctant to change the habits of a lifetime. The printing of other textbooks does appear to have ceased between 1612 and 1618 when Hart printed the Rudimenta Grammatices but booksellers, as we have noticed, had a number of alternatives in stock.

A report on the curriculum at Edinburgh High School made for the Town council and dated 9 November, 1614, shows that, in spite of the Privy Council ruling, the authorities here were happy to continue with the old grammars:

> Imprimis that the rudimentaris be all under one doctor. And that Dunbar's Rudiments be onlie teached as maist approved and ressavit in the countrie. The first pairt whairof is ane introduction to the first pairt of the Dispauters grammer and the uther pairt serveing as ane introduction to the secund pairt of Despauter. And that thair be conjoynit thairwith the vocables of Stanisburgius for practise of declyning Dicta Sapientium and the Distiche of Cato as for practise to the uther pairt of the Rudiments [201]

Given John Ray's manifest opposition to the imposition of Hume's textbook, this report should not surprise us. The argument here

expressed in favour of the traditional menu is based not on the intrinsic merits of the current grammatical texts but on their general acceptability. If Hume was to gain general acceptance for his new grammar, it was crucial that he find support in Edinburgh, the centre of printing and of much of the national government. If the monopoly could not be enforced here, when could it be ensured? The circularity of the arguments used here must have been particularly galling to Hume.

However, the 1614 report gives us our first indication of how the recently formulated grammar of Symson fitted into the traditional curriculum. Its conservatism was clearly its chief recommendation and it was seen simply as an elementary introduction to Despauter, a role later claimed by Wedderburn. Nevertheless, the question does not rest there, for the report reflects a popular division of Despauter into four parts, parts three and four being prescribed for the third class, which does not accord with our acquaintance with Despauter from surviving texts. Yet it does reflect grammar in the inventory of the goods of Robert Smyth, made in 1604. [202]

The work entitled Grammaticae Institutionis Libri VII, printed by Ross in 1579 and by Hart in 1627, must surely have comprised the first part.[203] Here Despauter, in Novimola's abridgment, deals with accidence, the first four books devoted to nouns and adjectives and the last three to verbs. Similarly the Syntaxis, again printed by Ross in 1579 and by Hart in 1632, would appear to be the second part.[204] A further part of Despauter, Artis Versificatoriae Compendium was printed on Hart's press in 1631, but, as the title-page claims, was ' prioribus editionibus longe emendatior'. Here we may detect

a potential division into the third and fourth parts, for Book X deals with metre, while Book XI treats figures of speech. It was this final volume that was supplemented by Buchanan's short summary of accents.[205] If this analysis is correct, we would expect the third and fourth parts to be grouped together in the booksellers lists and smaller quantities of the more complex material to be printed. This would seem to be the case with the inventory of Robert Smyth. At the time of his death Smyth had in stock 2,860 copies of the first part of the grammar, 1820 copies of the second part and 840 copies of the third and fourth parts, listed together. We may further notice that the inventory of Thomas Bassenden, made in 1577, differentiates between 'Dispauteris de figuris', 'tertius Dispauteris', 'Rudimentis Dispauterii' and 'Sintaxes Dispauterii'.[206] Again the latter two texts were kept in substantially larger quanties than the other two.

Thus the two halves of Rudimenta Grammatices, accidence and syntax, were used in the first year of the course as an introduction to Novimola's Despauter, the complexities of which were introduced in the second year (Books I - VII) and third (Books VIII-IX). This preliminary diet was supplemented by a number of other texts, of the kind we would have anticipated from Jacks annotations to Vaus. The Vocabula of John Stanbridge was printed three times in Scotland before 1640. Prior acquaintance with Cato's Distichs and the less taxing memory aids in Stanbridge would at least have prepared the pupils for the difficulties of Despauter's verse mnemonics.[207]

As we have observed, the implicit argument against the imposition of Hume's text on Edinburgh High School was one of national orthodoxy.

It was therefore only a matter of time before the issue again rose to national prominence. The Register reports on 17 June, 1623 of 'suche obscurityis in the said worke as past the capacitie of the youthe to consave' and mysteriously of 'some discontented personis' who 'possest his Majestis royall earis'.[208] Such ears may not have taken too kindly to a man associated with the Melville circle, with John Davidson, who had crossed the King on a number of occasions, and a man who recommended the use of Buchanan's inflammatory History in schools. But there were other ways in which Hume's grammar may well have irritated the establishment. It did not proceed by the approved catechetical method - Andrew Duncan too felt the need to protect himself on this point.[209] Moreover its Ramistic divisions and definitions (albeit qualified by Hume) were a far-cry from the traditionalism of the current textbooks and too radical for many. The Dunbar Rudiments had broken through by compromise almost inevitable from its multiple authorship, and because it was seen to complement, rather than replace Despauter.

Nevertheless Hume could claim that the proof of the pudding was in the teaching and by 1623 had put his grammar into practice for ten years:

> the said Mr. Alexander hes in this tyme bene workeing upoun it, and it hes provin by tryall, as the colledgeis will testifie, that the worke is very effectuall to leade to the understanding of authouris and to the speakeing and writting not Latinum but Latine...[210]

We are reminded of the two years spent at Oxford testing Lily's text 'experiendo'. There was also the boast of two acts of Parliament (indirect perhaps) in favour of his work. But the opposition, led by John ray, was strong and ultimately irresistible. With the committee unable to reach a decision, a further group of schoolmasters was summoned to give their verdict in September. Since the case turned on the practicability of Hume's method and the ability of pupils to comprehend and master it, this September meeting was to take the form of a viva voce examination of masters and pupils. This alone indicates that a number of teaching methods and texts were still in operation. No doubt the meeting would have been similar to the oral examination of a teacher made before his appointment. However there is no indication that such a trial took place and the matter once more fell into abeyance until the 1630s.

It seems superfluous to recount the details of the dispute of the early 1630s that led to the nomination of Wedderburn's text as the official grammar. There is a sense of renewed urgency, partly stemming from Charles I's involvement, but the arguments are essentially the same. Wedderburn, like Duncan, stuck closely to Despauter and produced the kind of compromise by this date unavoidable. Politically, and thus intellectually, Scotland had come a long way since the radical enthusiasm of the late 1570s. The decision in 1579 to lay new foundations to Scottish intellectual endeavour in the light of subsequent divisions must seem a little naive and idealistic. The approval of a committee, once the hallmark of radical innovation, rapidly became the guarantee of conservatism. In a wider context,

Humanism itself has been seen similarly to lose its way as an educational force.[211] We have seen elsewhere that the uses of Latin were not only the possession of the intellectual high-fliers and the linguistic vanguard of the Reformation, but needed also to be within the reach of those planning a career in commerce, law medicine or the other professions. Such doubts were expressed early but became accentuated in seventeenth century debates on education. Seventeeth century Latin fell victim to the contradictions implicit in the role of the language in Western Society and in the drive of Humanism itself. Hume's distinction of Latinum and Latine is relevant here. Partly as a result of Humanism, Latin had become embedded in middle-class life, culturally and professionally, but increasingly the objective was the end (Latinum) rather than the means (Latine) . What was required of schoolmasters was not a generation of orators speaking Latin from the heart (Latine) but pupils who could take their place in a Latinate culture and society. Whilst a reading knowledge of the Roman authors remained the touchstone of a Latin education (as it does today), these subsidiary aims needed to be accommodated in a society in which the language had its part to play outside the purely aesthetic domain. Though the Scottish 'Bellum Grammaticale' was partly the result of vested interests and politico-religious divisions, it also stemmed from a sublimated debate over these means and ends.

NOTES

1. It has been impossible to deal comprehensively with all the grammars produced by Scotsmen in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Of these there were at least fifteen in circulation besides foreign works as influential as Donatus and Despauter. The grammar written by Robert Williamson has been consulted en passant but seems to have been of little influence. Similarly David Wedderburn's work, which is in essence an adaptation or simplification of Despauter, is referred to but not treated in detail. A number of the English and Scottish works here discussed are found most easily in the Scholar Press series English Linguistics 1500-1800 (A Collection of Facsimile Reprints), selected and edited by R. C. Alston. I refer readers also to Foster Watson, The English Grammar Schools to 1660: Their Curriculum and Practice (London 1908; reprinted 1968) which, if superseded in parts, remains the most widely ranging study of grammar school texts. The Roman grammarians were still of crucial importance and are collected in H. Keil, Grammatici Latini, 8 volumes (Hildesheim, 1961) a reproduction of the Leipzig edition of 1857-74. The most readable account of them is R. H. Robins, Ancient and Medieval Grammatical Theory in Europe (London, 1951).

2. David Murray, 'Some Early Grammars and other School Books in use in Scotland more particularly at or relating to Glasgow', 2 pts, Royal Philosophical Society of Glasgow, XXXVI (Glasgow, 1905-6).

3. John Durkan and James Kirk, The University of Glasgow 1451-1577 (Glasgow, 1977), pp. 276-80 and elsewhere. Walter J. Ong, Ramus, Method and the Decay of Dialogue (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1958) concentrates on the philosophical and rhetorical works. For

identifying works by Ramus I use the numbering in his Ramus and Talon Inventory (Cambridge, Mass. 1958). See also W.S. Howell, Logic and Rhetoric in England, 1500-1700 (New York, 1961), pp.146-281.

4. Alexander Hume, Grammatica Nova in Usum Inventutis Scoticae ad Methodum Revocata (Edinburgh, 1612),sig. A4. The work is reproduced in facsimile by Scholar Press, no. 177 (Menston, 1969).

5. James Kirkwood, Grammatica Facilis, seu Nova Artificiosa Methodus Docendi Linguam Latinam (Glasgow, 1674). This neglected work I refer to frequently for its illuminating critique of Despauter and the Dunbar Rudiments, a generation before Ruddiman's assessment.

6. G. A. Padley, Grammatical Theory in Western Europe 1500-1700. The Latin Tradition (Cambridge, 1976), pp. 111-7.

7. Aelius Donatus, the fourth century grammarian. His Ars Minor is in Keil, IV pp. 355-66 and the Ars Maior in Keil, IV pp.367-402 Thomas Ruddiman, The Rudiments of the Latin Tongue (Edinburgh,1714) is Scholar Press no. 230 (1970). See also his Grammaticae Latinae Institutiones, Pars Prima (Edinburgh, 1725) and Pars Secunda (Edinburgh, 1731). Ruddiman's grammatical researches are discussed in Douglas Duncan, Thomas Ruddiman (Edinburgh, 1965) pp. 85-96.

8. Iohannes Despauterius, Commentarii Grammatici (Paris, 1537/8).

9. Despauter, Commentarii, sig. b3v. Alexander de Villedieu's Doctrinale first appeared in 1199 and was last printed in Paris in 1527. See Padley, p.14, and Robins, pp.75-6. It has been edited by D. Reichling in Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica, XII (Berlin, 1893).

10. George Buchanan, De Prosodia Libellus (Edinburgh, n.d.). I.D. McFarlane, Buchanan (London, 1981), p.515, lists five editions printed with Despauter between 1645 and 1708. Buchanan's work is Scholar Press no. 257 (1970).

11. Thomas Ruddiman, Bibliotheca Romana, sive, Catalogus Auctorum (Edinburgh, 1757), p.49.

12. Kirkwood, sig. *8r

13. Kirkwood, sig. *7r

14. Kirkwood, sig. *4v

15. Kirkwood, sig. A4v.

16. See An Examen of the Way of Teaching the Latin Tongue (London 1669) sigs F1v-2r, Scholar Press no. 206 (1969). This work, translated from the French original, criticizes the prolixity of modern grammatical study in similar terms.

17. Verse rules are to be found in Alexander de Villedieu, Stanbridge, the Lily-Colet grammars and Ruddiman.

18. Samuel Hartlib in The True and Ready Way to Learn the Latin Tongue (London, 1654), sig. C2v, writes:

> And far madder then which hitherto were those,
> who propounded to boyes the Precepts of Grammar,
> obscure in themselves; and besides that, inclosed
> in verses, in verses, I say so obscure, as may seem
> even to us who are further grown in years, to
> stand in need of some Oedipus to understand them.

This work in Scholar Press no. 280 (1971). John Brinsley, Ludus Literarius (London, 1612), sig. K3r, in contrast recommends the learning of rules in verse, both for the early practice in metre and for the knowledge of correct quantities. Brinsley's work is Scholar Press no. 62 (1968) and has been edited by E.T. Campagnac (Liverpool, 1917).

19. Murray, Pt. 2, pp.12-18

20. Hume, sig. A4r.

21. James Carmichael, Grammaticae Latinae...Liber Secundus (Cambridge, 1587), sigs ¶2-3..

21. (b) The Works of John Knox, edited by David Laing, 6 vols. (Edinburgh 1846-64), IV, 177. See also V, 520.

22. Works, II, 212.

23. One raison d'être for that divsion concerns the language of instruction. David Wedderburn argues in A Short Introduction to Grammar (Aberdeen, 1632) sig. E1r, that a foreign language must initially be presented in the tongue of the learners. Just as the Romans began their Greek grammars in Latin, so should the rudiments of Latin be written in English. Thus his grammar shifts from English to Latin in mid-stream. This argument frequently resurfaces: see below pp.99-102.

24. Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum, VI (1567-74) edited by Gordon Donaldson (Edinburgh, 1963), 28.

25. Registrum, VI, 186 and 388

26. Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, edited and abridged by J. H. Burton (Edinburgh 1877-98), II (1569-78), 478.

27. An account of their deliberations is to be found in RPC (1578-85) III, 110 and Carmichael sig. ¶1 3r.

28. Despauter, Commentarii, sig. b 4v

29. I quote from A Shorte Introduction of Grammar (London, 1567), sig. A2r. This edition, along with the Brevissima Institutio (London, 1567) has been edited in facsimile by Vincent J. Flynn (New York, 1945).

30. A Shorte Introduction, sig. A2

31. The argument is repeated by Hartlib, sig. B4r, here applied to the changing of the precepts of grammar.

32. 'The Inventories of Edinburgh Printers' in Bannatyne Miscellany, II (Edinburgh, 1836).

33. Bannatyne Miscellany, pp. 191-201

34. Thomas Linacre, Rudimenta Grammatices Thomae Linacri ex Anglico Sermone in Latinum Versa, Interprete Georgio Buchanano Scoto (Paris, 1533).

35. Nicolaus Clenardus (1495-1542).

36. For the Magdalen School Grammarians see Foster Watson, pp.235-42.

37. Jean Pellisson, Rudimenta Prima Latinae Grammatices (Paris, 1533 et al.) It is possible that an edition was printed by Lekprevik, as he was licensed to do in 1568, though such a text is no longer extant. Pellisson also compiled an Epitome of Despauter (Paris, 1535)

and Compendium Ioannis Despauterii de Syllabarum Quantitate (Lyon, 1553).

38. Bannatyne Miscellany pp. 209-15

39. Philip Melanchthon, Elementa Latinae Grammatices (Cologne, 1526 and often reprinted). Despite his presence in the booklists, Melanchthon's influence seems to have been limited. In 1612 Alexander Hume refers to the German's grammar 'quae apud nos non est adeo frequens' on sig. A4v of the 'Schola'.

40. The Rudimenta Grammaticae Latinae of Pierre de la Ramée (Ong 543) was an abridgment of the Grammatica or Grammaticae Libri Quatuor (Ong. 513). Both were printed at Paris in 1559 and later appeared in English translations. Thomas Thomas printed The Latine Grammar at Cambridge in 1585 (Ong 527) while Waldegrave printed both the Grammar and the Rudiments in London in the same year (Ong 526 and 555).

41. Henricus Pantales Bartelon, In Prosodiae Speciales Regulas Epitome (Rouen, 1607), or possibly De Ratione Puritatis Syllabariae Liber (Lyon, 1578), a compendium of useful material on prosody, including the 'Ars Vesificatoriae' of Despauter.

42. For the most convincing account of the compilation of the English Grammar see C.G. Allen 'The Sources of Lily's Latin Grammar', The Library, fifth series, IX (1954), 85-8.

43. Carmichael, sig. ¶1 3r.

44. Carmichael, sig. ¶1 2v.

45. Carmichael, sig. ¶1 3v.

46. See Arthur H. Williamson, Scottish National Consciousness in the Age of James VI (Edinburgh, 1979).

47. Robert Fairlie, Naenica (Edinburgh, 1628) sigs B5v-6r. The lines quoted are from his poem 'Paedatrophe' , dedicated to Thomas Hope. Fairlie's work, printed in London and Edinburgh during the 1620s and 1630s, has been entirely ignored by literary historians, yet is among the most interesting and extensive Latin verse produced by a Scot in the seventeenth century.

48. David Calderwood, History of the Kirk of Scotland, ed. Thomas Thomson,Wodrow Society (1843) VI, 110.

49. John Leech (Leochaeus), Musae Priores, sig. F6r. The poem is entitled 'In Scotos, omnes omnium gentium mores referentes'.

50. David Leech, Philosophia Illachrymans, hoc est, Querela Philosophiae et Philosophorum Scotorum (praesertim vero Borealium) Oratorie Expressa: Publice habita in Auditorio Maximo Collegii Regii Aberdonensis 26 die Iulii, 1637 (Aberdeen, 1637), sig. C2v.

51. Delitiae,I, 696

52. RPC III. 110-2

53. Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae, edited by Hew Scott, revised edition, 7 vols (Edinburgh, 1915-28),I,262.

54. Records of the Convention of the Royal Burghs of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1866), I, 411-2.

55. R. Dickson and J. P. Edmond, Annals of Scottish Printing, 2 pts (Cambridge, 1890), II, 509-10.

56. Bannatyne Miscellany, II, 224; reprinted in Dickson and Edmond, II, 353.

57. See J. P. Edmond, 'Notes on the Inventories of Edinburgh Printers 1577-1603', Edinburgh Bibliographical Society Transactions, I, (1890-95), no.15, pp.1-8 and Dickson and Edmond, II, 331.

58. Dickson and Edmond, II, 491

59. Bannatyne Miscellany, II, 234; reprinted in Dickson and Edmond, II, 483.

60. Records of the Convention of the Royal Burghs, IV, 527 and 532; RPC, second series, IV, 242 and 287. At Peebles, the treasurer was required to buy a copy of Wedderburn's text 'conforme to the act of the burrowis at thair generall conventioun'. See Charters and Documents relating to the Burgh of Peebles, Scottish Burgh Records Society (Edinburgh, 1872), 373-4.

61. RPC, V (1592-9), 111.

62. D. Irving, Memoirs of the Life and Writings of George Buchanan, second edition (Edinburgh, 1817)

63. D.F.S. Thomson, 'Linacre's Latin Grammars', in Linacre Studies, edited by Francis Maddison and others(Oxford, 1977) pp. 24-33.

64. Unless otherwise indicated, quotations from Buchanan are taken from the Burmann edition (Leyden, 1725). See Buchanan, II, 647.

65 Thomson, p.26

66. See the entry under 'trivium' in Revised Medieval Latin Word-List, edited by R. E. Latham (London, 1965).

67. Andrew Duncan, Latinae Grammaticae Pars Prior sive Etymologia Latina in Usum Rudiorum (Edinburgh, 1595), sig. A4r. This work is Scholar Press no. 121 (1968).

68. Foster Watson, pp. 295-6

69. The 'Ordo Scholae Grammaticae Edinensis' of 1640, uncovered by Chalmers, begins:

> During the first six months of the first year, the scholars shall be taught the principles of grammar in vernaculo sermone - learning at the same time the Latin names of everything on earth and in heaven.

See G. Chalmers, The Life of Thomas Ruddiman A.M. (Edinburgh, 1794), p.88 and James Grant, History of the Burgh and Grammar Schools of Scotland (London and Glasgow, 1876), p.339. Clearly the influence of Comenius is felt in this passage.

70. Ong, Ramus Method and the Decay of Dialogue, p.11.

71. For Asham, of course, to speak barbarous Latin was worse than to speak no Latin at all. Ruddiman's solution in The Rudiments was to give the rules in parallel columns of English and Latin 'leaving the Master to his own Choice and Discretion which to use' (sig. ¶¶3r). Such a method was also adopted by Charles Hoole in his Latine Grammar (London, 1651), Scholar Press no. 131 (1969).

72. The 'Dissertation' is printed anonymously in the second part of John Love's Animadversiones (Edinburgh, 1733).

73. Linacre's Rudimenta Grammatices Thomae Linacri Diligenter Castigata was printed by R. Pynson, probably between 1519 and 1524 (see Thomson, pp. 25-6). It is Scholar Press no. 312 (1971). See also Giles Barber, "Thomas Linacre: A bibliographical Survey of his Works" in Linacre Studies , pp.301-2.

74. Grammatica Nova, sig. A2. Linacre's work also influenced Robert Williamson,who wrote an introduction to Despauter, Elementa Linguae Latinae.

75. 'Grammatica Nova, sig. A4r.

76. Buchanan II, 647.

77. Thomas Linacre, De Emendata Structura Latini Sermonis (London 1524). This work is Scholar Press no. 83 (1968).

78. John Stanbridge's Accedence was printed by Wynkyn de Worde, c1496. It is Scholar Press no. 134 (1969).

79. The importance of a catechetical method as a means of expounding 'true' doctrine in late sixteenth and seventeenth century Scotland cannot be exaggerated. The implicit pressure on grammarians to conform to such an approach can be seen in the works of Symson and Duncan, discussed below.

80. Thomson, p.29.

81. For the uncertain history of the Progymnasmata Grammatices Vulgaria see Barber, pp. 292-5. Padley too fails to distinguish between the two elementary Linacre grammars (p.22).

82. Analysis of the differences between these works has much to reveal

about Linacre's working practice and the efforts of an important grammarian to evaluate his method. I hope to undertake a more detailed study of this process at a later date.

83. When concentrating on the questions of declension and conjugation, such a bias towards the verb was almost unavoidable. A problem in the elementary textbook was that, although irregular nouns might be postponed to a later stage, irregular verbs (such as eo, volo, possum and sum) could not.

84. Thomson, p.31. Vives' prefatory epistle can be found in Buchanan, II, 699.

85. RPC, III, 111.

86. Dickson and Edmond, II, 473

87. McKerrow, R.B., Printers' and Publishers' Devices in England and Scotland 1485-1640 (London, 1949), pp.69-70.

88. Dickson and Edmond, II, 328-9.

89. William Perkins, An Exposition of the Lords Praier, in the way of Catechisme (Edinburgh, 1593).

90. Register of the Town Council of Edinburgh X, fol.193, quoted in McFarlane, Buchanan, p.444.

91. James Grant, History of the Burgh and Parish Schools of Scotland (London and Glasgow, 1876), p.340

92. McFarlane, p.444, quoting from Chalmers, p.88

93. Thomas Jack, Onomasticon Poeticum (Edinburgh, 1592).

94. Patrick Sharp, Doctrinae Christianae Brevis Explicatio, in Tria Priora Geneseos Capita, Symbolum Apostolorum (Edinburgh, 1599).

95. RPC, III, 110.

96. Carmichael, sig. ¶ 3r.

97. Padley, p.36.

98. Carmichael's work collates: ¶ ^{4} ¶¶ ^{2} A-D ^{4} E-I ^{2}; 32 leaves; ¶ A-D $ 4 signed (-B3; ¶¶ signed ¶); E-I $ 2 signed. The typography does not indicate more than one printing house. One reason for reducing the number of leaves in each gathering after sheet D is that smaller portions of type can be printed off at one time. This may indicate either some hurry, or some delay in the availability of copy, and may be connected with the somewhat truncated nature of the text. For example, instead of waiting while someone (perhaps the author or an editor) sorted out what came next, a sheet could be printed off, probably by half-sheet imposition, after only four instead of eight pages of type had been set. Alternatively it could allow more compositors to be used. It may be significant that Thomas was at this time undertaking the enormous task of printing his Dictionary and Carmichael's work was accommodated as efficiently as possible into his schedule. I am grateful to A. Michael Dunne for some of these suggestions after examination of the negative on film. The unique copy of the work is in the Drummond Collection in Edinburgh University Library.

99. A Shorte Introduction of Grammar by William Lily, edited by Vincent J. Flynn (New York, 1945), p.xn.

100. Gordon Donaldson, 'Scottish Presbyterian Exiles in England, 1584-8', Scottish Church History Society XIV, 67-80. Donaldson does not refer to Carmichael's presence in Cambridge.

101. See R. B. McKerrow, A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of Foreign Printers of English Books 1557-1640 (London, 1910), pp. 264-5, and the DNB article on Thomas Thomas.

101. Thomas Thomas, Dictionarium Linguae Latinae et Anglicanae (Cambridge, [1587]), Scholar Press no. 330 (1972).

102. David Wedderburn, Institutiones Grammaticae, (Aberdeen, 1633), sig. B5r.

103. James Kirkwood, Grammatica Delineata, 3rd edition(London, 1677), sig. A3v.

104. Ruddiman, Bibliotheca Romana, p.62.

105. At the beginning of the 'Animadversiones' in the Grammatica Facilis, sig. A1r. See Murray, p.32. The historian John Row twice attributes the work "Quum Literarum Consideratio" to Symson and calls them the Dumbar Rudiments. The second reference to the work 'called to this day Dumbar Rudiments' in the 'Coronis' appended to the History cannot accurately be dated though the transcription made by his son was completed on 2 October, 1650. See The History of the Kirk of Scotland, From the year 1558 to August 1637 by John Row, minister of Carnock, printed by the Wodrow Society (Edinburgh, 1842), pp. 9 and 422.

106. Ruddiman, Bibliotheca Romana, p.62 n.

107. J. P. Edmond,'Edinburgh Printers', p.4.

108. Bannatyne Miscellany, II, 215 and 234; Dickson and Edmond, II, 483.

109. Harry G.Aldis, 'Thomas Finlason and his Press, with a Hand List of Books', Edinburgh Bibliographical Society Transactions, I, no. 20, p.2

110. Rudimenta Grammatices in Gratiam Inventutis Scoticae Conscripta. Prioribus aeditionibus longe emendatior (Edinburgh, 1618), STC 21438

111. STC 21439, 21440, 21440.5, 21440.7

112. H. G. Aldis, A List of Books Printed in Scotland before 1700 (Edinburgh, 1907, reprinted 1970) nos. 447, 957 and 980.

113. Robert Williamson, Grammatica Latina (Edinburgh, 1632). Soon after the assault on Hume's Grammatica Nova, lead by John Ray in July, 1623 (RPC, XIII, 318-9), there appeared Williamson's Elementa Linguae Latinae (Edinburgh, 1625) and (reputedly) Rudimenta Grammaticae Latinae (London, 1624) by John Leech. This last work I have not seen.

114. W. Carew Hazlitt, Hand-Book to the Early Popular Poetical and Dramatic Literature of Great Britain (London, 1867), p.559.

115. Joseph Ames, Typographical Antiquities, augmented by W. Herbert, 3 vols (London, 1785-90), p.1501.

116. Dickson and Edmond, II, 331 and 510; Bannatyne Miscellany, II, 205.

117. Bannatyne Miscellany, II, 215 and 234

118. Bannatyne Miscellany, II, 224; Dickson and Edmond, II, 353.

119. William Steven, The History of the High School of Edinburgh (Edinburgh, 1849), pp. 34-5; Thomas McCrie, Life of Andrew Melville, Third edition (Edinburgh, 1856), 474-5.

120. Rudimenta Grammatices, sig. D2v.

121. Kirkwood, 'Animadversiones', no. 1.

122. Andrew Duncan, Appendix Etymologiae ad Copiam Exemplorum (Edinburgh, 1595).

123. Padley, pp. 48-9

124. Murray, pp. 32 ff.

125. Rudimenta Artis Grammaticae per Io. Vaus Scotum Selecta et in Duo Divisa (Edinburgh, 1566) on University Microfilms, reel 341. The additional pages have not been numbered. For the sake of convenience I number them folios 1-76. There follow a further six folios in the hand of one George Chalmer and dated '29 Martis 1589.'

126. fols 4-9

127. fols 11-25.

128. fols 32-62.

129. fols 1-3.

130. fols 26-31.

131. fols 63-72.

132. Duncan, sig. D2v.

133. Duncan, sig. D3v.

134. Duncan, sig. A8r.

135. Duncan, sig. ¶3r.

136. Duncan, sig. ¶3v.

137. Duncan, sig. A5v.

138. See above, p.90.

139. Duncan, sig. ¶1r.

140. In 'Animadversiones', no. 27.

141. Duncan, sig. A3v.

142. Duncan, sig. A4v.

143. Duncan, sig. A7v -8r.

144. The History of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland by John Knox with which are included Knox's Confession and the Book of Discipline edited by Cuthbert Lennox (London, 1905), p.382. The writers deemed it necessary that'every several church have a schoolmaster appointed, such an one as is alde, at least, to teach Grammar and the Latin tongue, if the town be of any reputation'. David Hay Fleming, The Reformation in Scotland (London, 1910), pp. 517-9 contrasts this proposal with exclusiveness of the 1496 Education Act. But as Gordon Donaldson points out in The Scottish Reformation (Cambridge, 1960), pp.95-6, implementation came late, with an act of Council in 1616 and a 1633 act of Parliament, when the question of grammar had finally been settled in favour of David Wedderburn.

145. Padley, pp. 111-6. Isaac Casaubon found the work excessively Ramist and rejected it for that reason. See Mark Pattison, Isaac Casaubon (1559-1614), (Oxford, 1892), p.407.

146. Alexander Hume, Of the Orthographie and Congruitie of the Britan tongue, ed. Henry B. Wheatley, E.E.T.S., original Series, no. 5 (London, 1865), pp. vi-ix.

147. Orthographie, pp.2-3 and Grammatica Nova, sig. A1v of the 'Schola'.

148. In the address to thereader, interleaved between sigs. A8 and B1 of the copy of the work on University Microfilms, reel 1276.

149. Hume's oration in the presence of James VI and I is in John Nichols, The Progresses of King James the First 3 vols. (London 1828), III, 301-5. Nichols reprints the text from The Muses Welcome of which it is the opening speech.

150. The Muses Welcome, p.16, but see below p.150.

151. McCrie, p.473.

152. David Wedderburn, A Short Introduction to Grammar (Aberdeen, 1632). This work is Scholar Press no. 236 (1970).

153. RPC, second series, IV, 163

154. RPC, second series, VI, 287-8

155. Grammatica Nova, sig. A4r.

156. Grammatica Nova, sig. A2r.

157. The Acts of the Parliament of Scotland (London, 1816), IV (1593-1625), 157 (1597 c77) and 374 (1607 c9).

158. Grammatica Nova, sig. A4r

159. Hume's treatment of nouns is in 'Etymologiae Liber Secundus' sigs C3-D5.

160. The Rudiments of P. Ramus his Latine Grammar (London, 1585) sig. A7r. It is Scholar Press no. 306 (1971). A more detailed discussion is in The Latine Grammar of P. Ramus (London, 1585), which is Scholar Press no. 305 (1971).

161. 'Schola' to cap. 8 of 'Etymologiae, Liber secundus', sig. C7r.

162. 'Schola' to cap. 17, sig. D1r.

163. Grammatica Nova, sig. A2v.

164. Grammatica Nova, sig. A2v.

165. 'Schola', sig. A3v. The use of Terence as illustrative of conversational Latin was of course typical of Renaissance teaching. The Dunbar Rudiments includes a description of the pronouns formed from the combination of ecce with is and ille, a conversational form met with only in Plautus and Terence. These forms are no longer contained in a modern textbook and highlights our movement away from the spoken form of the language.

166. Grammatica Nova, sig. A4r.

167. Grammatica Nova, sig. A 4r.

168. 'Schola', sig. E8r.

169. R PC, XIII, p.318.

170. 'Schola', sig. E8v.

171. Grammatica Nova, sig. A4v.

172. 'Schola', sig. F5v.

173. Adam Hyll, The Defence of the Article: Christ Descended into Hell (London, 1592) sig. K1r.

174. Adam Hyll, sigs K1v-2r.

175. Hume, Prima Elementa Grammaticae in Usum Iuventutis Scoticae (Edinburgh, 1612).

176. From the address 'Candido Lectori' interleaved between sigs. A8 and B1 in the copy on University Microfilms, reel 1276.

177. 'Schola', sig. B5v.

178. 'Schola', sig. H2v.

179. 'Schola,' sig. C4r.

180. See James K. Cameron, Letters of John Johnston and Robert Howie (Edinburgh, 1963) pp. 128, 134 and passim.

181. See appendix, under David Barclay and James Clegg.

182. See Arthur H. Williamson, pp.72, 89-91 and passim.

183. Hume, A Diduction of the True and Catholik Meaning of our Saviour This is My Bodie... Whereunto is annexed a Reply to M. William Reynolds in Defence of M. Robert Bruce his Arguments on this subject (Edinburgh, 1602).

184. Hume, A Reiojnder to Doctor Hil Concerning the Descense of Christ into Hell (Edinburgh 1593).

185. Pro Supplici Evangelicorum Ministrorum in Anglia - Apologia, sive Anti-Tami-Cami-Categoria. Authore A. Melvino (n.p., 1604),

186. D.N.B. under Rainolds, John.

187. Thomas Fowler, The History of Corpus Christi College, Oxford Historical Society, (Oxford, 1893), XXV, 160.

188. Hume, A Reioynder, sig. A4r (signed A3).

189. On University Microfilms, ree 1353

190. 'Schola', sig. A1v.

191. The recourse ad fontes is of course a cliché in Renaissance scholarship.

192. Thomas Ruddiman, Grammaticae Latinae Institutiones (Edinburgh 1725 and 1731), pp. v-vi, quoted by Duncan, p.87.

193. Grammatica Facilis, sig. L6r.

194. RPC, X111, 264.

195. Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, IV, 374

196. RPC, IX, 272-3.

197. RPC, second series, IV, 500-1.

198. Duncan, Thomas Ruddiman, p.90

199. From Gilbert Burnet, Thoughts on Education (London, 1761), p.40.

200. RPC, IX, 414.

201. Printed in William Steven, The History of the High School of Edinburgh (Edinburgh, 1849), appendix I, 29 and in McCrie, p.475.

202. Bannatyne Miscellany, II, 234; Dickson and Edmond, II, 483.

203. Ioan. Despauterii Ninivitae, Grammaticae Institutionis Lib. VII (Edinburgh, 1579 and 1627).

204. Ioannis Despauterii Syntaxis (Edinburgh, 1579 and 1632). This work, comprising Books VIII - IX of the original, is supplemented by the De Ratione Studii of Erasmus.

205. Ioan. Desp Ninivitae Artis Versificatoriae Compendium (Edinburgh, 1631), also includes a brief piece on the names of Latin metres.

206. Bannatyne Miscellany, II, 194, 199 and 201

207. The text of Stanbridge's Vocabula used in Scotland was that revised by Thomas Newton, first printed in 1577. The Scottish editions were Edinburgh, 1596 and 1639 and Aberdeen, 1631.

208. RPC, XIII, 318

209. Andrew Duncan, Latinae Grammaticae, Pars Prior, sig. A5v:

> interdumque de iusta artis via, quam Dialectica methodus praescribit, paululum deflexi, ratus satius esse, et ab officii Religione minus alienum, ab artis ordine discedere quam puerorum utilitati minus servire.

210. RPC, XII, 264-5. It may well be that Hume's more comprehensive and advanced work would have found more favour in 'the Colledgeis', particularly at St. Andrews, than in schools.

211. Padley, p.10.

CHAPTER THREE. 'STUDIA POESEOS ET ELOQUENCIAE': THE TEACHING OF POETRY

1. The Curricula

There has been a tendency among cultural historians of Scotland to concentrate on the import and export of that cultural hand luggage almost to the exclusion of the native tradition, whose exponents did not commute between the universities and courts of Catholic and Protestant Europe.[1] The figure of 'the Scot abroad' is a legacy partly from nineteenth century scholarship, partly from the contemporary realisation that 'Scotus ubique latet', from the Low Countries to Poland and beyond.[2] That figure, akin to the Wandering Jew of legend, prowls restlessly through the biographies of men like James Crichton and Florence Wilson and the pen portraits of Dempster and Buchanan.[3] In part of course the phenomenon is true enough and the importance of men like George Buchanan and Andrew Melville returning to their native land with European minds cannot be doubted. In part too it was a defensive compensation for the geographical implications of the term ultima Thule. Potentially Scotland was isolated both geographically and because of a language that was incomprehensible even in England. In retrospect, James VI's endeavours to create a vernacular literature linked to the European Renaissance by translation and imitation seems an arrogant absurdity, itself betrayed by the court exodus in 1603. This was a greenhouse culture, unequipped to bloom in the northern climate when its source of light had gone. Astute writers like Drummond and Ayton had already learnt to compose in the southern tongue, recognizing the inevitable. The Latin poets too had much to lose from the death of

Elizabeth and succession of James, though they celebrated the occasion as effusely as any.[4] But Latin composition was more able to survive in this sublunary world, geared as it was into the educational system. Although there was no longer a court to promote and sustain the aerier flights of poetic fancy, many of the professional classes - ministers, schoolmasters, lawyers and doctors - continued to exercise themselves in a skill learnt in the classroom. They used it to commemorate the deaths of loved ones, recommend themselves to noble patrons or to communicate with friends. Such men were often not 'vagantes', nor had even visited the continent, yet they were Europeans from the moment they lifted their pens - such was the enduring quality of the Latin tongue. Its monumentality recommended it for commemorative purposes, its status for patronage and respectability, its epistolary traditions and succinctness added weight to communication. More often than not it was simply a social skill, redolent perhaps of prestige and bourgeois values, which they did not wish to lose.

During the last two decades historians have paid increasing attention to the lower end of the social scale, no longer seeing history as the unique experience of the ruling class. Cultural history has yet to follow this radical shift in emphasis, although the literary canon of great literature by great men is increasingly under threat. It seems timely then to devote some attention to this middle class and the creation of its cultural channels of communication and expression.[5] To concentrate on the kinds of writings and writers that are represented in the Delitiae would not give an accurate impression of the way Latin verse functioned in society and would risk isolating that group in an

unhelpful and unrealistic way. For none of the privileged thirty-seven were in any sense professional poets; they were men of medicine, the cloth or the schools as much as the rest, different only in the amount of verse they produced. Even here, the distinction often does not hold, for there were individuals like Alexander Yule, the schoolmaster, or the minister Ninian Campbell, or John Adamson the academic, who wrote and saw printed large quantities of Latin verse. Critical distinctions are similarly far from reliable. I would challenge any critic to distinguish between the handling of the panegyrical hexameter (the cultural bedrock) by any Scottish Latinist, save perhaps Buchanan and Melville. Harrison Ainsworth erroneously attributed the Epicedium... Cardinalis Caroli Boromaei to James Crichton of Cluny because he could not accept the probability:

> that there should have been another Scotsman of the name of James Crichton in Italy, in the year 1584, possessed of the same remarkable facility in poetical composition.[6]

Improbable it may have been, but, unfortunately for Ainsworth, true. Ainsworth's mistake was to allow his critical terminology - 'remarkable facility in poetical composition' - to follow from biographical speculation, even though this flew in the face of the fact of Crichton's death in 1581. Critics of this century have felt little more secure in marshalling a textual strategy to deal with Neo-Latin verse. Bradner contents himself with generalised comments: Kinloch's style is 'smooth and fluent', Florence Wilson is 'quite undistinguished', whilst Adam King exhibits 'a remarkable command of the harmonies of the hexameter line'.[7] It need not be stated that such evaluations have to be taken on trust.

Bradner would no doubt have claimed that such evaluative remarks were not central to a work of literary history. I suspect that Neo-Latinists have often resorted to such a genre to avoid having to make or justify them. It should perhaps be added that Musae Anglicanae dates from before, or from the beginning of, the tradition of close reading of Leavis and the New Critics. It may in retrospect prove fortunate that Anglo-Scottish Latin (except perhaps in the case of Milton) has escaped such textual strategies, for that tradition is itself now under attack. Jonathan Culler, in The Pursuit of Signs, writes:

> There are many tasks that confront criticism, many things we need to advance our understanding of literature, but one thing we do not need is more interpretations of literary works.[8]

We may accept our relative impotence in subjecting Neo-Latin poetry to this kind of close scrutiny as either an inhibiting factor, consigning us to Bradner's critical vocabulary, or as a liberating one. If we move towards the latter, we may begin to ask the kinds of questions advocated by Culler - 'of the role or function of literature in society or social consciousness'.[9] In such a study Neo-Latin could no longer be relegated to the critical backwaters, but must share with the contemporary vernaculars in contributing to our knowledge of the way literature (and, of course, no longer 'great literature') worked in Renaissance societies.

Optimistic prefaces invariably give way to disappointing developments - witness recent criticism of Northrop Frye and Stanley Fish as less than conclusively enacting the radicalism of their critical

manifestos.[10] The following two chapters do no more than claim to examine some of the ways in which Latin verse functioned in the Scotland of James VI. One of the arguments here advanced is that the instinct and capacity to compose Latin poetry and some of the forms and genres into which that resolve was channelled have their origin in the way the subject was taught. We must begin then with an examination of its occurrence in the schoolroom.

George Steiner points out that music shares with chess the distinction of being an intellectual skill able to be pursued to an extraordinary level at an early age.[11] This he attributes to the intrinmathematical qualities in both. To these we might add a third, the composition of Latin verse. It may often masquerade a maturity that belies the years of the writer and many a Renaissance latinist printed his youthful work in later life. Indeed it was sometimes, as in the case of Milton, an instinct which declined, or was abandonned, with maturity. Should we be romantic enough to doubt the attribution of arithmetical skills to the writing of poetry, we have only to turn to the Progymnasma Scholasticum of John Stockwood.[12] Stockwood shows considerable ingenuity and patience in varying the couplet 'Linque Cupido iecur, cordi quoque parcito; si vis/ Figere, fige alio tela cruenta loco' a total of 450 ways. He then proceeds to vary the single line 'Est mea spes Christus solus, qui de cruce pendet' a further 104 ways. This exercise is performed 'to direct and encourage young scholars'. Presumably the reiteration of such instructive sentiments Stockwood considers as helpful as the reorganisation of word order. The exercise cannot fail to remind one of the writing of another kind of 'lines' or,

more seriously, of the endless repetition of a mantra or a 'Hail Mary'.

This is not the first time that such examples, or similar reductions of Latin verse to the level of a crossword puzzle, have been cited. Such examples, and, incidentally, the well-heeled accounts of men like Arthur Johnston and James Crichton, able to recite extempore Latin verse, do not further the cause of the subject or its credibility. What they reveal as much as the reductio ad absurdum of the techniques of composition is an endless fascination with words and the order of words. Latin was, of course, uniquely liberating in this, and the juxtaposition of a few inviolable metrical laws with a few syntactical structures was an entertaining game for the Renaissance mind. Such a game was not poetry, but played a part in the construction of it. Michael Riffaterre's minimalist conclusion that a poem is no more than the embedding of a single sententia in a verbal matrix would, no doubt, have found support in the sixteenth century.[13]

We have two kinds of evidence to show that versification was a common feature in Scottish schools: reference to the practice in the statutes, and the survival of the fruits of that instruction, mostly in manuscript. In addition there is some evidence of the practice in the universities. Naturally, we are not blessed with as many extant statutes and curricula as in England - there were, after all, fewer schools - but this hardly explains the extreme dearth of secondary material. James Grant's is the only comprehensive work on the burgh schools, and that over a hundred years old.[14] Though admirable in scope, it now needs to be updated. M.L. Clarke and James Scotland have more recently worked on the subject but have not substantially advanced his findings

or added to the evidence.[15] In addition, many of the studies limited to the history of a single institution are less than systematic in their account of Latin culture. No description of St. Andrews takes account of the considerable increase in verse-making at the turn of the century,[16] and A.F. Hutchinson's monograph on Stirling High School overlooks the enormous production of verse by its master Alexander Yule.[17] There are comparable omissions elsewhere. It might be argued that the appearance (and disappearance) of Latin verse-composition is a useful rule-of-thumb indication of humanist endeavour and its fluctuations deserve to be monitored.

As Grant makes clear, the fullest surviving curriculum of the post-Reformation period comes from Glasgow Grammar School. This has not been dated accurately but may be in the same hand as the town council records of 1573. Here pupils are introduced to the study of verse in their fourth year:

> For the first quarter the ars versificatoria of Despauter shall be prelected upon with selection from Buchanan's prosody and epigrams; also there shall be taken from the poets read in a former year, examples of each of the rules of prosody. For the rest of the year scholars shall employ themselves (their prescribed tasks being repeated daily) in the art of poesy and in practice of rules; Virgil, Ovid's Metamorphoses, Horace and Buchanan's Psalms, should be prelected upon. Twice every week, also, there should be given out a short sentence having some wit or point, or an argument or narrative; those who can,

turning the same into verse - heroic, elegiac or lyric; should there be any who have no aptitude for poetical composition, let him be employed in converting loose sentences into grammatical language and in writing themes.[18]

This procedure was to continue in the final year:

twice a week, also, let those who have the faculty try their skill in verse writing.

Of the curricula available for Edinburgh High School before the middle of the seventeenth century, two make mention of verse composition. The Ordo Scholae Grammaticae Edinensis, prepared in 1644 during the incumbency of William Spence is particularly close to the Glasgow plan:

4th class. For the first month in this session, the boys were to revise and be taught Despauter's Select Rules, Buchanan's epigrams and other poetry, paying strict attention to prosody. During the remaining months they were to be exercised in the composition of Latin verses, and constantly applying the grammatical rules; in reading Virgil, Ovid, Cicero, Horace, Terence, Buchanan's Psalms. The beauties of these writers were to be pointed out and explained to the scholars.[19]

The town council records of 9th November, 1614, similarly recommend verse-making for the fourth and fifth years, (under the master, John Ray):

And that thair exercise be in versiounis and in verse making of Theimis braking and making of versis as thair spirits servis thame.

5th or

hie classe....And that thai be exercised in oratiounis

compositiounis versionis and in verse quhois gift servis thaim.[20]

Curricula of Aberdeen Grammar School dated 1700 and 1711 also refer to 'the turning and making of verse'.[21] The pattern is similar at Glasgow High School in the mid-seventeenth century.[22] The scheme drawn up in 1643 advises versification for scholars of the fourth form, once more with the assistance of Despauter's well-worn Ars Vesificatoria and Buchanan's Prosody (after 1645 the two were frequently issued together), and the parallel study of Virgil, Ovid's Metamorphoses, Horace and Buchanan's Epigrams and Psalms. Following the wording of the Glasgow plan, verses were to be made in hexameters, elegiacs or lyric metre from short sentiments of witty or ingenious character. Those 'inept' in verse composed in prose. No doubt those inept in alcaics composed in elegiacs.

This is not the place for a detailed comparison between the teaching in a Scottish burgh school and the equivalent institution in England, though such a study is long overdue. M.L. Clarke makes the first moves in this direction.[23] However, a few additional points are worth making. We notice the common belief in the efficacy of turning prose to verse, a commonplace of rhetorical practice since Cicero and Quintilian and, as Ascham points out (on the evidence of the Phaedo), an exercise practised in prison by Socates.[24] Interestingly, Buchanan too, (reputedly), and Andrew Melville (certainly), whiled away their hours of confinement in the turning of psalms into Latin verse. It was, after all, the most convenient way of progressing from one to the other. The alternation of verse and prose composition - Erasmus seldom distinguishes between them - is a feature common to both countries and is

recommended in Wolsey's Plan of Studies for Ipswich School (1528), and at the Friars' School, Bangor (1568), among many others.[25] The practice of versification is again complementary to the reading of the Roman poets and is backed up by a constant reiteration of the rules of prosody.

Since we have, at this point, turned to comparative material from England, we should consider Clarke's argument that 'verse-composition had probably never flourished much in Scottish schools'.[26] Clarke's book surveys the survival of Classical education both north and south of the border. Coming from the rich vein of Latin writing in England, Clarke bases his opinion on the comparative dearth of material in Scotland. Nevertheless, we might question his generalisation, if only for the lack of evidence. Our knowledge of the English experience comes again from two chief sources: school statutes and printed or manuscript sources of material. Scottish statutes and curricula, admittedly few in number but representing the major schools, do not differ markedly from those in England, as Clarke himself shows. Both recommend the practice, even if we must often take their advice on trust. Turning to the manuscript sources of verse in English schools, (and Clarke does not indicate any outside those now among the manuscripts in the British Library), these all have their origin in royal occasions, whether visits by the monarch or some other royal events. These come from a small number of schools, such as Winchester, Westminster, Eton or Ludlow.[27] Scotland was deprived of such royal occasions by the King's move south in 1603, at a time when the anthology was beginning to have influence in Scottish writing. But for the brief return of James in 1617 and the visit of Charles in 1633 there were no royal occasions to celebrate north of the Tweed. That being so, we

would not expect school verse to have been preserved anyway, unless by accident.

We must be careful to distinguish between the everyday composition of verse themes as a school exercise and that occasional writing for specific occasions. The latter could not take part without the former, but we would be wrong to extrapolate from the absence of the latter a corresponding neglect of mundane exercises. As we will see, in Aberdeen there were attempts to provide such occasions at a local level. Beyond this, the evidence becomes problematical, but one or two points might be made.

In 1645 the General Assembly passed a motion, quoted by Clarke and Strong, tightening up the process of appointing teachers:

> That for the remedie of the great decay of poesie, and of the abilitie to make verse, and in respect of the common ignorance of prosodie, no schoolmaster be admitted to teach a grammar school, in burghs or other considerable paroches, but such as after examination shall be found skilfull in the Latine tongue, not only for prose, but also for verse; and that after other trials to be made by the ministers, and others depute by the Session, town, and paroch for this effect, that he be also approven by the Presbyterie.[28]

Such linguistic and theological scrutiny of candidates had been intermittently in operation since the Reformation. An Act of Parliament of 1567, underlined by the 1604 Hampton Court Conference, stressed that schoolmasters should be doctrinally sound.[29] Two attested cases of

the examination of candidates for their knowledge of Latin show how difficult - both for interviewers and interviewee - such an interrogation might be. In 1602 the Aberdeen board could not decide between David Wedderburn and Thomas Reid:

> efter dew tryall and examination had of the literarcy and qualificatioun of [Wedderburn and Reid]... be publict teiching in audience of the provest, baillies, consell, and leirnit men betvixt the tua townis, on oratorie and poesie, and be compositioun in prose and verse be the space of 4 dayes.[30]

and appointed them both. In 1606, according to Crauford, the authorities in Edinburgh found it particularly difficult to choose a successor to Alexander Hume.[31] Their method was to test the candidates' powers of prelection upon a designated ode by Horace, probably as advanced a text as a schoolboy was likely to encounter.

Needless to say, the 1645 proposal presupposes a prior state in which verse composition was a more regular phenomenon, and recognizes the crucial importance of the teacher in fostering it. But if the profession of schoolmaster-poet was in decline by the middle of the century, this was far from the case in the earlier period. Wedderburn, Danskin, Hercules Rollock, Alexander Yule and Robert Fairlie all composed considerable quantities of verse, whilst a host of others - John Ray, William Wallace and James Glegg, to name but three - were able to versify if circumstances demanded it. The appendix includes the names of twenty-six that turned to verse (perhaps in more than one sense of the word) at least once in their lives. These writers are concentrated in the major towns in the kingdom - Edinburgh and Stirling High Schools,

and of course Aberdeen, produced a succession of Latin poets - and that may partly be the reason for our knowledge of them. It may also indicate one reason for their selection and the superiority of candidates for the mastership of the larger schools (those specified in 1645). Such schools were at the forefront of the educational plan outlined in the Second Book of Discipline.[32] It would be surprising if these schoolmasters did not endeavour to communicate their enthusiasm for Latin verse to their pupils, especially since such a pursuit was specified in the curriculum. Indeed it seems likely that the teacher's advice would be sought when a plan of studies was drawn up.

Returning to Clarke's judgement, there are two senses of the word 'probably': one which stops short of certainty, another which conceals a rather hasty generalization. Clarke's employment of the word seems to reflect the latter sense. These remarks are not intended to put forward the opposite case in its fullest sense. Only a handful of the schools in the major cities, with interesting developments at Montrose, Dunbar and Prestonpans, could be considered grammar schools in the English sense of the term. It may be that the phenomenon we are considering occurred only here and was built upon at the universities, where verse-composition undoubtedly flourished.

"We recognize the central role of Buchanan's works in the Scottish curricula, although Clarke is not quite correct in saying they were not used in England. Not only was his Prosodia in constant use as a textbook - though we have elsewhere seen the problem of distinguishing between this work and his prosody in general - but we see the appearance of both the Psalms and Epigrams in the lists of prescribed texts.[33]

The Psalms appear frequently among the texts read in English schools in the seventeenth century (there were London editions printed in 1580, 1583 and 1592), combining as they do linguistic with theological instruction.[34] In the Glasgow curriculum it may be seen that they could usefully be employed as a model for versification of progressive difficulty, those in elegiacs being singled out for study in the third year (alongside Ovid's Epistulae ex Ponto and Tristia), others (we assume), prelected upon in the fourth year, alongside Virgil, Horace and more Ovid. After 1620, they may have been read in the text printed by Eld with a commentary by Alexander Yule (Julius).[35] Yule's introduction is promising, referring to notes dictated by the great man himself and his own prelections upon the Psalms while Master of Stirling High School. However, the 'commentary', as McFarlane calls it,[36] is little more than a prose translation, circumnavigating the 'dictiones, phrases et sententias poeticas intellectu difficiliores' of the original.[37] Yule's Ecphrasis seems nevertheless to have been received with approbation by the literary establishment in Edinburgh. There are commendatory verses by three principals of the University - Henry Charteris, Patrick Sands and John Adamson - and, by the Master of the High School, John Ray. Adamson's poem underlines the dual advantages of such a textbook:

> Hanc libro exiguo monstravit Iulius artem,
> Ecphraseos pueris statuit qui aptare specilla,
> Dia Paraphraseos per quae mysteria cernant,
> Unde loqui ornate, nec non bene vivere discant.[38]

As McFarlane points out, Ray was largely responsible for the edition of Buchanan's sacred and profane poetry printed by Hart in 1615.[39] Long before this, as we have elsewhere noted, Andrew Duncan was using the

Psalms to illustrate Latin metre.[40]

Distinctively Scottish is the study of the Epigrams, a text which appears nowhere in the prescribed lists in England. No doubt in part this is a patriotic alternative to the epigrams of Thomas More, whose verses on James IV must have ruined his reputation in the north.[41] However, their presence should be seen, more probably, in the light of Martial's absence from any of the surviving Scottish curricula, at a time when his influence was waxing in England. Baldwin associates the introduction of the epigram as an exercise in verse-making (such as is recommended by Dean Alexander Nowell and his associates at Bangor), with the increasing study of Martial.[42] The Glasgow curriculum makes it clear that such a composition might be undertaken without reference to the Roman master, for 'a short sentence having some wit or point' corresponds to the definition given by Isaac Barrow in his inaugural address as Humanity Reader at Cambridge in 1659: 'the same about your verses; and recollect that they are to be epigrams, and must have some grace or point in them'.[43] The short poem, following as it did the prose theme in the curriculum, often arrived devoid of such a point.

It is conceivable that the pseudo-Virgilian epigrams, both those included in Donatus' Life, and others prefixed to many sixteenth century editions, may have been read, as Hoyt Hudson suggests.[44] I have not, however, seen them specifically prescribed except, curiously, among the rudimentary reading matter at Aberdeen in 1700, along with Cato's Distichs, Lilly's De Moribus, Sulpicius, Ovid's Epistles, Muret and Terence.[45] This was long after their Virgilian authorship had been questioned. But in the light of their influence, (a translation of

them, for example, was published by John Penkethman in 1624),[46] and the graded introduction of Virgilian works in that school, Grant is, I think, wrong to question the accuracy of this curriculum.[47] What such epigrams were, is another issue - the Catelepton most probably, but surely not the Priapea.

Our knowledge of the school curricula may be supplemented by the plan for the Humanity Class of the Tounis College, Edinburgh, where Latin verses were an occasional feature of the teaching. The class was extra-academical and was instituted to give some students the necessary grammatical training for entry into the university course proper.[48] It was instituted in this form (1598) at a time when the High School curriculum was being revised. The 1598 plan does not refer to verse composition, but concentrates, as a preparatory course to university would, on the oration. However the Disciplina Academia of 1628 reads:

> Transferunt themata e Latino in vernaculum, et e vernaculo in Latinum sermonem. In versibus etiam exercentur nonnunquam.[49]

The 1598 plan for the High School similarly does not mention verse-making but the inclusion of Buchanan's Prosodia among the set texts for the fourth regent (that is, Alexander Hume) indicates that such a pursuit may have been possible in that final year. This was specified in the subsequent curricula. When the plan for the Humanity Class was revised downwards, it could not fail to come into direct competition with that of the High School. This may partly explain the apparent antagonism between the then Humanist, John Ray, and Hume. As we have seen elsewhere, Ray strenuously resisted the proposal to impose Hume's Grammar upon the nation, and won support from the bishops.[50] Then again, as

Crauford tells us, Ray resented the implication that his status was inferior to that of the other University regents.[51] The post was probably only acceptable to a man newly graduated in the arts, and Ray, a man of more experience, may have found it a little demeaning. Both he and Thomas Crauford left it for the more lucrative position of master of the High School. At St. Andrews the Grammar School master, Henry Danskin, seems to have been an unofficial member of the University and was certainly recognized as the senior latinist in the town when James visited it in 1617.[52] He preferred to call himself 'amoeniorum literarum professor' than 'ludi magister', but with what implications I am uncertain. In the same work wherein Danskin thus dubbed himself - Robert Baron's Philosophia Theologiae Ancillans - James Glegg, who could have had no such territorial ambitions, is called 'humaniorum literarum Professor Taoduni'.[53] In 1620 at Aberdeen the master, David Wedderburn, as a result of his complaints regarding his salary, was permitted

> to teache ane lessoun of humanitie aines everie weeke
> in tyme comeing, within the college of this burght,
> out of sic authoris, at sic hours, and after sic method
> as salbe injoyned to him be the counsall...[54]

Four years later he was forced to resign the post of Humanist at Marishall because it proved to be 'verie hurtfull and preiudiciall to the said grammer schole'.[55] This was not, I suspect, because the School saw this as poaching, as John Strong suggests, for such complaints would normally come from the master himself.[56] More likely, the additional work was distracting Wedderburn from his duties at the Grammar School. All this is to suggest that in the university towns the lower end of the arts course and the upper level of the grammar school overlapped

and it would be difficult to say exactly where verse composition took place. This was especially true when the spheres of the two institutions were fluctuating, as they seem to have been in early seventeenth century Edinburgh.

The use of the verb 'turning', both in Aberdeen in 1700, and Edinburgh in 1628, reflects the mechanical quality of much of this versification. In the statues of Rivington Grammar School (1566) this operation of 'turning' is more fully delineated:

> But weekly, besides this, they must write some epistles or verses, which may they more easily do, if they use often to turn their lectures into English, and then into Latin, again by other words to the same meaning, sometimes in verses, and sometimes in prose: and after turning Greek into Latin and Latin into Greek, and changing one kind of verse into another, and verses into prose, and prose into verse...[57]

Nevertheless, this was the method followed by William Camden at Westminster in teaching the young Ben Jonson to write verse,[58] for, as Brinsley writes in the Ludus Literarius:

> the making of verse is nothing but the turning of words forth of the Grammatical order, into the Rhetorical, in some kinde of metre; which we call verses.[59]

Such a demystification of the subject must have been a useful counter-weight to the literary theory of Horace. In the case of an occasional writer of verse, such as John Rainolds of Oxford, such school methods were highly valuable. A manuscript in the British Library shows his

methodical approach to the composition of an obituary poem for Philip Sidney which he contributed to the University memorial volume Exequiae P. Sidnaei.[60] He begins by drafting the basic contents, proceeding to set them in order and finally to turn them into verse. We will have more to say of the influence of 'turning' or 'varying' at a later stage, but we might notice here that the strategies recommended at Rivington and elsewhere have been recognized as a feature of Roman poetry. The technique of retractatio, that is, the re-handling of a single sententia or theme in different ways, was identified by A.-M. Guillemin, and reiterated by Jackson Knight, as a common feature of Latin verse, especially in Virgil.[61] More recently, such strategies, in a rather more advanced form, have been investigated by the so-called 'Yale School'.[62] Retractatio, however, can be seen as embedded in the tradition of Latin, both as a means whereby the poet creates the critical space in which to create, and also within the texture of the verse itself.

Practice in the manipulation of syntax and vocabulary would increase the confidence of the pupil to deal with the philosophical and theological disciplines that awaited him in the university. Furthermore, such basic rhetorical techniques would, following the pattern set out by Erasmus and others, take him a little further along the road towards the full-scale oration, the culmination and ultimate test of the student's latinity. As the St. Leonard's College Orators' Book shows, there was provision, even at a higher level, for those practice orations to be delivered in verse.[63] Five of these orations, written between 1592 and 1595 were versified.[64] We should recognize that the chief purpose of teaching verses was to strengthen the pupil's hold on the Latin tongue, a subsidiary but parallel method to instruction in prose. It must have made the students more

sensitive to the movement of the poetry they were reading, but this point does not seem to have been made. The exact status and value of poetry in the wider aims of the curriculum was anyway still rather problematic; it was certainly not reading for reading's sake. It did add variety to those compulsory hours spent in the composition of themes, epistles and declamations. Its occasional nature is reflected in the 'nonnunquam' of the Edinburgh Disciplina, and in the way it is almost invariably tacked on to the end of a curriculum. There is also the recognition at Glasgow, Edinburgh and Stirling that verse-composition was beyond the means of some of the students. Only certain members of a class will be able to versify, and the authorities are uncertain whether to attribute this to superior ars or ingenium. At Edinburgh we have 'as thair spiritis servis thame' and 'quhois gift servis thaim'; in Glasgow, 'aptitude for poetical composition' and 'those who have the faculty'. Clarke quotes the eighteenth century schoolmaster George Chapman who warned students 'not to do violence to nature by indulging a turn for versification, if they be not endued with an original genius for poetry'.[65] Andrew Duncan in the 1590s, and later Alexander Hume, showed a similarly enlightened view over the law of diminishing returns in grammatical training.[66] Such consideration for the weaker boys and provision for mixed-ability teaching is not in evidence in the English statutes of the period, although in the matter of verse-making, Brinsley admits that there must be 'aptness of nature concurring'.[67] Ascham, following Cicero, questions the whole practice of metaphrasis in school, but his view does not appear to have received general support.[68]

To sum up then, the ars versificatoria was an ever present

part of the curriculum, at least from the period from which records survive. Although the Scottish curricula attempt to meet the practical contingencies of 'ineptness' - such scholars would be given prose themes instead - there is little change from the confidence of the medieval writers of verse manuals, such as Geoffroi de Vinsauf, Mathieu de Vendôme and Jean de Garlande, that versification could be taught.[69] Such an attitude necessarily involved a certain demystification of the subject, present in Brinsley, but implicit in the whole range of manuals and aids to composition then available. However, we shall see that the adolescent scholar did receive additional inducements to verse composition that reinforced the teaching methods.

2. Outside the Curriculum

On his death in 1613 the European scholar Duncan Liddell endowed a number of bursaries at Marishall College. Although the bursaries were to be in philosophy and mathematics, the entry requirements stipulated a knowledge of verse-composition:

> Naine shall be receavit to be of this bursaries in the colledges afore they be fifteine yeares old and hes learnit weil their Latine and Greek Grammer and uther principall authors usuall therto and can make ane congruouse epystle and verse and learnit also quatuor species operationum arithmeticae...[70]

Indeed, that very ability may be the key to election:

> Thirdlie becaus menie will be desyrous of this benefite the best shall be preferrit after diligent examination

and tryall be making of Epystles and verse and disputing for the place.

At first sight we might imagine that Liddell was simply ensuring an acceptable linguistic standard among the applicants. Certainly a good grounding in Latin and Greek was essential for the successful pursuit of more advanced studies. However, the inclusion of verse, which, as we have suggested, was an extrinsic part of the higher curriculum, indicates that Liddell's intentions were wider than this, and that he was endeavouring to humanize the university's activities. The presence of Latin verse is a useful rough guide to the broadly humanist aims of an individual or an institution. At the end of their period of tenure, Liddell proposes that each bursar should deliver a valedictory oration, 'giving thanks to the kinges Maiestie for his benefit'.[71] End of the year orations, at or about the time of graduation, were not an uncommon feature of Scottish university life. We have elsewhere referred to the Philosophia Illachrymans of David Leech, delivered on 26 July 1637:

> Quo die Adolescentes nonnulli, Magisterii Candidati, curriculum Philosophicum emensi, et cum Laurea emittendi, Philosophi examinis rigorem sustinebant, in solenni Clarissimorum virorum consessu.[72]

In July, 1631, John Lundie, the Humanist of King's College, gave an encomiastic oration 'in benevolos Universitatis...Benefactores, Fautores et Patronos' but concentrating on the benefaction of Alexander Reid, mentioned below.[73] These two were the work of two regents at King's and were subsequently printed by Raban. That delivered by William Lauder, which is in manuscript, is perhaps more relevant. Lauder entitles it

'Panegiricus Paraeneticus, Encomiasticus, & Postulatorius Pro eximendo Candidatus in Lycaeo Regio Aberd. servitutis scholasticae iugo Idib. Majis habitas' although the deleted 'Non-' in the title and the dating of the colophon '15 Kalendas Mai...1632' indicates that Lauder was having trouble with the Roman calendar.[74] The year seems certain enough; it was the time that Lauder graduated and the oration contains praises of his tutors, the professors of Latin, Greek, logic, ethics and physiology and of the Sub-principal, presumably David Leech. Surprisingly, the oration was not seen by Geddes and Leask, though they include his verses from the Lundie work of the previous year.[75] James Melville informs us that there were declamations at the graduation ceremonies at St. Andrews in 1583 and this may well have occurred in other years.[76] The Orators' Book includes one oration by David Lyndsay, which seems to be connected with the occasion of the bacchalaureate (mid-way through the M.A. course).[77]

According to Liddell's design the bursar's oration was to be the central focus of more widespread humanistic endeavour:

> Afore he hes his oration ane day or twa he shall invite to his oration the learned men in baith the townes be ane letter affixed on the colledge and kirk dore and also admonish and invite the Schollers in the colledgis and univesitie to make Latin verse to the honour of the kinges M. and thankfull remembrance of him that foundit the Colledge and all that augmentit it or for the present augments and mainteyns the samen exhorting others to follow their example and do the samen. Wha makes the best Latine verse be judgement of the Maisters of the Colledge and grammer schoolls and other

learnit men in the townes shall have ane reward of thrie punds Scots cum corona ex floribus capiti imponenda in testimonium excellentiae prae sodalibus. Gif mony appear equall or any doubt aryse he shall have the rewarde and honour wha by the Latine verse maks the best Greek verse and Latine orationne in the same argument as afore. And this to excitat the schollers in the Colledge not to neglect studia poeseos et eloquenciae.[78]

The will itself, confirming the mortification, is a little more specific on the subject of the poem:

> valedicere regique et fundatoribus colledgii et beneficiorum gratias agere et post mortem regis ei parentare suae memoriam virtutem et benemeritorum parentis patrie hujus nostre recolere et celebrare with ane supplicatione to God to preserve his successione in this kingdome.[79]

It also makes clear that a subsidiary prize of forty shillings, 'cum corona ex floribus', was open to 'the grammarier that makes best verse.[80] The two towns, of course, contained two grammar schools, one attached to King's College, the other under the mastership of David Wedderburn. Again it is interesting that the heads of the two schools were to be involved in the arbitration.

The process devised by Liddell has close similarities with that proposed by George Buchanan in his Opinion concerning the Reformation of the University of St. Andrews:

> At the end of the zeir, in the moneth of August or thairby, al the hail classis sal propone themis oppinly, and affix thayme upon the colledge wallis, or in the great schol or

hallis. The principal sal cheis ane certaine of the best of the fyrst classe and secund [of the Humanity College], and send thayme to sum of the honest men of other collegis, or sum other learnit man beying present for the tyme, and desir that he propone thayme ane theme in prose and ane other in verse. Thair salbe twa bonettis proponit to be gevin solemnly to the twa that makis best composition, with honourable wordis to encurage otheris in tyme to cum to emulation; and that the honest and principal personis of the universite assistand, and exhortying the studentis to be diligent, and raise thair curage.[81]

Buchanan's scheme (though we cannot be sure how much of it is his) has been seen as a revision of the Book of Discipline in the light of his European experience.[82] Certainly, the proposal to pin up writings outdoors does seem to take an optimistic view of the Scottish climate, even in summer, although such a practice did often occur at the English universities.

Liddell's plan, with its rather theatrical laureation and community of 'leirnit men' has unmistakeable humanistic features. The very 'studia poeseos et eloquenciae' has that end in view. How exactly the bursar's oration was meant to tie in with the poetry competition is not so obvious. That the two events were linked seems evident from the context of the mortification. Why otherwise should it have been a Liddell bursar that issued the challenge? I suspect, but cannot prove, that the oration itself contained verse, or that poetry - the winning entries no doubt - were recited at the same time. It is quite conceivable that such a speech included extracts from previous years' verses.

The orations of both Leech and Lundie were printed with verses attached, while William Ogston's Oratio Funebris in Obitum Georgii Marischalli Comitis (1623) quotes lines from a eulogy, now lost, by Thomas Cargill, the former Master of the Grammar School, who died in 1602.[83] The minister, Ninian Campbell, has an interesting description of this kind of (funeral) oration in his Treatise on Death:

> The first whereof, I call, for orders sake, Encomiastick, or Scholastick, because it is spent in the praise of the defunct, and only used in schooles, colledgis, academies, and universities, by the most learned; And this is ordinarily enriched with pleasant varietie of strange languages, lively lights of powerfull oratorie, fertile inventions of alluring poesie, great subtilties of solid Philosophie, grave sentences of venerable fathers, manifold examples of famous histories, ancient customes of memorable peoples and nations; and in a word, with all the ornaments of humane wit, learning, eloquence.[84]

The obituary volume, in both prose and verse, for Patrick Forbes, to which Campbell contributed a lengthy poem, is the fullest embodiment of such an attitude.[85]

It should be added that bursars on the foundation of Glasgow University were required to make orations, and there is evidence of a similar obligation at St. Leonard's.[86] The original charter of Marishall furthermore specified that the third regent should give his scholars written exercises and practice in Latin composition.[87] David Lyndsay, in his oration, referred to above, complained that students no longer exercised their rhetorical skills when the weekly orations

were dropped after the second year (though the evidence of the Orators' Book is that they did continue to write them).[88] What distinguishes the Liddell benefaction from such practices is the emphasis on poetry and eloquence for their own sake, and the involvement of the city itself and its schools in the ceremonies at the end of the year. As such it reflects, and perhaps was somewhat influenced by, an increasing interest in the production of Latin poetry by Aberdeen from the 1590s onward. In this regard, Marishall College was much more the city's university than was King's, though we will see this resurgence reflected in the latter college too.

In 1593 Thomas Cargill was awarded £3 'to caus print certane verse in Latin in commendatione of my Lord Marscheall for erecking the new College of Aberdeen, at the Counsallis command'. That poem is no longer extant, but William Ogston quotes thirteen lines from it in his Oratio Funebris of 1623. It begins:

> Quod meritis Marischalle tuis Regalibus illis,
> Aeternum addictas obstrixti foedere Musas,
> O Quantus te expectat honos! quo nomine surget
> Fama tibi eximias sparsura in saecula laudes
> Tota tibi patriae multum Respub. debet...[89]

It seems that the town council were beginning to recognize the benefits accruing to them from such work, for, in 1601, they voted him £20 Scots' in macking of ane treatise in latin congratulating his Majestie's delyverie, conteining some commendatioun of this burghis antiquitie and previleges, grantit thairunto be his Majestie's predecessouris, quhilk

he dedicat to this burght[90]

According to the traditions of patronage, the dedication itself was no doubt a plea for financial support. If the history of Aberdeen might not be thought strictly relevant to the Gowrie Conspiracy, her presence in commissioned works was soon to become traditional as well. The entry in the Burgh Records is approaching the wording of the Liddell bequest.

Cargill's position as literary 'town crier' was unofficial, but his successor at the Grammar School, David Wedderburn, was given official duties as laureate. Wedderburn seems to have been continually in financial difficulties. Soon after his appointment to the position, when he and Thomas Reid shared the master's salary,[91] Wedderburn announced his intention to join the ministry.[92] Subsequently he dropped the idea, probably knowing that Reid was to take up a regent-ship at Marischal. At that date his salary was in the region of £85 per annum and he was convicted, in October 1604, of extorting undue fees from some of his pupils.[93] In 1615 he received an additional £100 for temporary teaching in the College after the death of Gilbert Gray.[94] However, in 1620, he was again complaining of the inadequacy of his salary, given the additional burden of a wife and children.[95] There was some justification in his complaint: compared with a number of other important schools in the country, the master of Aberdeen Grammar School was not richly rewarded. In 1633-4, for example, when the salary at Aberdeen was £133.6s.8d. or two hundred marks, Alexander Hume was receiving £400 at Dunbar, and James Gleg at Dundee £300.[96] Aber-deen's salary was similarly surpassed at Haddington, Peebles, Perth and

St. Andrews. Whereas at Aberdeen the schoolmaster might be tempted by a more lucrative position at Marishal, in Edinburgh the opposite was the case. Throughout the early part of the seventeenth century, the fledgling university continually lost their regents of Humanity to the High School. Here a regent's salary stood at £100 a year.[97]

Despite Wedderburn's complaint, and obvious ability, the town council were reluctant to increase his wages. Instead, he was offered additional teaching duties at the College. The contract required that he teach a lesson of humanity and rhetoric in alternate weeks every Friday morning for twenty years. Added to this he was obliged:

> to compose in Latine, both in prose and verse, quhatsumevir purpose or theme concerning the commoun effairis of the toune, ather at hame or afield, as he salbe requyred be any of the majistrattis or clerk, in tyme comeing....[98]

For such extra work, Wedderburn was to receive eighty marks. We do not know what these compositions may have been, for none survive for this period, if indeed any were commissioned. Four years after the appointment, it was felt that Wedderburn's additional duties as Humanist were detrimental to the Grammar School and he was discharged.[99] His obligations as laureate were probably cancelled at the same time. During the period of this official status, Wedderburn does not appear to have composed any Latin poetry, except for one funerary epigram in the Lachrymae Academiae Marischallanae of 1623, as 'Literaturae Politioris Professor'.[100] Perhaps the burden of work prevented him from so doing. However, the time between 1617 and 1625 was relatively free of signifi-

cant political or academic events for which such compositions would have been considered appropriate.

An indication that payments for Wedderburn's compositions had once more become discretionary is to be found in the Dean of Guild's account for 1624-5, where the schoolmaster receives £33.6s 'for some poesies made be him on the death of the King, at the desyre of the toune, and for printing thairoff'.[101] An earlier reference in the same account to the expenditure of £3 'for taking bak again Mr. David Wedderburnes buik' may be associated with his Συνευφραντηριον, but this remains uncertain.[102]

Aberdeen's generosity towards its schoolmaster must be set in a wider context. From the time of Thomas Cargill onwards, and thus from the beginnings of verse composition in the city, the town council were supplying intermittent patronage upon a number of writers. Payments were made on two scores: to repay the kindness of a dedication and to help defray the cost of printing by the local printer, Raban. Of course, these two reasons cannot truly be separated. The Treasurer's account for 1626-7 records a payment of one hundred marks to Robert Baron.

> for defraying of the chairges maid be him in printing of the sermon dedicat to the toune, whan he wes laureate doctor in divinitie, and to gratifie him in some mesure for his dedicatioun.[103]

The book concerned was Baron's Disputatio Theologica, printed by Raban in 1627. In 1632-3 the printer was recompensed for seven reams of paper used in the printing of the same author's Disputatio Theologica de Vero

Discrimine Peccati Mortalis et Venialis (Aberdeen, 1633).[104]

Patronage from the council seems to be concentrated around specific royal occasions. This need not mean that Aberdeen funded only royal compositions at such times, but that, having released funds for such works, they felt more inclined or obliged to sponsor other writers. References in the burgh accounts are often too vague to discern the subject matter of a publication when that book is no longer extant. In the two years following the death of James VI, when Wedderburn's Abredonia Atrata was commissioned, poems by Alexander Forbes 'in praise of the toune', and by William Cargill received public backing, along with a 'pamphlet' by Alexander Gardyne, probably the Characters and Essayes (Aberdeen, 1625).[105] In 1633, a gratuity was granted to Raban:

> for printing of a book dedicated to counsell by Baron and for printing of some poesies writtin be Wedderburn and George Robertsone on the royal visit to this his ancient kingdome...[106]

Baron's book has not been identified and there is no direct evidence to confirm Aldis ' assumption that the work concerned the royal visit.[107] At the same time William Mercer, musician, received two hundred marks, probably for Bon-acords Decorement (Edinburgh, 1633).[108]

An examination of Wedderburn's royal poetry reveals how the schoolmaster fulfilled such obligations as advocate of his native city's case. As we have seen, Wedderburn submitted two long compositions on the royal tour of 1617. The Συνεωφρανητηριον, which may be

'Wedderburnes buik' referred to in the Dean of Guild's account, contains a brief reference to Aberdeen at the end of a list of gods and nymphs, queueing for the King's attention:

altis et flumina montibus orta,
Sive Caledoniis decurrant finibus, aucta
Grampius haec cano seu vertice fundat, ut oras
Lambat Abredoniae quippe addictissima regi
Ista suo et reliquas supra officiosa sorores,
Illae usque officiis celebres licet omnibus omnes.[109]

For Propempticon Charitum Abredonensium, written on the King's departure, Wedderburn was given fifty marks.[110] Here Aberdeen bids farewell to her sovereign, together with her fellow towns, Edinburgh, Dundee, Stirling, Glasgow and St. Andrews:

At tam supra alias Abredonia moesta sorores,
Illa tuum quam supra alias persensit amorem...
Nam Ptolemaei etsi Devana Abredonia saeclo
Dicta olim (Dea Deva velut) se mille per annos
Quingentosque stetisse probarit, mille per annos
Quingentosque tamen maiora haud munera nacta est.
Huius enim ille alter tu conditor: utque Camillus
Romae, sic nostrae renovas fundamina sedis
Prima, tuo summa tibi suffragante Senatu.[111]

Aberdeen appears last but not least among her sisters, distinguished by her close relationship with her sovereign. Her ancient origins are described and James, who renewed her charters during his stay at Falkland, is described as a 'conditor alter', as Livy called Camillus.[112]

It will be recalled that Cargill's Gowrie treatise, no longer extant, had appended to a thanksgiving for the King's safety 'some commendatioun of this burgh's antiquitie and previleges, grantit thairunto be his Majestie's predecessouris'. James' actions at Falkland allow the chronicle to be updated, but Wedderburn chiefly follows the same pattern.

Abredonia Atrata was commissioned by the town council on the King's death in 1625. The lengthy hexameter poem rehearses the familiar themes of James as peacemaker and Solomon. Near the close a series of mythical personages lament his passing. Once more the city appears, last but not least, to shed her tears:

> Verum ante alias Donaeque Deaeque
> Fulta ministerio Bona se Concordia luctu
> Atrata involvit: supra omnes illa sorores
> Deliciae regis, placuitque et nomen et omen.[113]

Wedderburn's strategy and even his phraseology will by now be becoming familiar: supra sorores has recurred in all three poems.

Wedderburn's poem on the return of Charles in 1633, Vivat Rex, outlines the achievements of his royal predecessors, before concentrating on the celebrations in the capital. Understandably, Edinburgh takes pride of place:

> Vincat Edina, loci vincat potioris honore,
> Regis amore tamen nunquam, mihi crede, sorores
> Vicerit illa suas. Taides nostri inclyta regni
> Gloria te Regem pronae Dominumque salutant.
> At quae tecta Deae vitreis sub fluminis undis
> Pumice strata colunt Nymphae, ditissima gemmis

Quaeque fluenta regunt Donae, tibi seque suosque
Devovere uni. Comes his Abredonia, dulci
Dulce tuo quondam genitori nomen, ab uno
Te pendet regemque suum te suspicit unum.[114]

Wedderburn shuffles his limited pack once more. The sorores theme is re-deployed, here to deny that Edinburgh's affection exceeds that of her sisters. Aberdeen again is presented last in a line of anthropomorphized elements. The poet makes use of the 'Ythan pearls' image, employed by Leech and other Aberdonians, to enrich his description of her rivers.[115] Finally, he can return to the 'priveleges, grantit... be his Majestie's predecessouris', with the hope that Charles will follow his father's example.

The Aberdeen schoolmaster promoted the cause of his alma mater conscientiously and he received no meagre recompense. In addition to the payments he was awarded for his royal poetry, his attempts to overturn Alexander Hume's newly accepted 'national grammar' were given considerable local support. In July 1630 he was voted £40:

> for makeing his chairges to Edinburgh, being chairgeit to compeir befor the Lordis of Privie Counsall, anent the new grammer set out be Mr. Alexander Hume.[116]

This must already have been a mission of sabotage, but Wedderburn recognized that he needed to procure the support of the Privy Council before his own grammar could be printed and distributed. For this he was granted £100[117], and a further one hundred marks in March, 1631.

> to help to defray the greit chairges quhairin he hes bein drawin be his long attendance in Edinburgh, Sanctandrews

and Glasgow, in the purche and obteining of the councel and clergéis of this kingdome, thair approbatioun and allowance to his new reformed grammer...[118]

'Approbatioun' having been secured, he was given two hundred marks towards the cost of printing in September 1632, 'be resone of his dedicatioun of the same to the magistrattis and counsall'.[119] Finally, in July 1636, £50 was forthcoming:

for his paynes in drawing up of new vocables for the weill and benefite of the young schollares within the said grammer schooll...[120]

Wedderburn told the Privy Council of his 'paynes', as did Alexander Hume, but the former was amply rewarded: a total of £390 in six years.[121] Perhaps it was only with such personal commitment and similarly committed financial backing that the thorny question of the national grammar could be settled, and Privy Council and rivals bludgeoned into submission. Certainly Hume was never in the position to make a worthwhile challenge to the northern bid.

We must not allow the impression that local patronage was unique to Aberdeen. In Edinburgh, for example, John Adamson received four hundred marks for dedicating 'ane Catechisme' - that is, the Στοιχείωσις Eloquiorum Dei - to the council.[122] Earlier, in 1614,

Mr. Alexander Yule presentet to the counsall his poems in latyne prentet and dedicat to the toun upoun the deyth of the prynce and the mariage of Lady Elizabeth, dochter to our Soverane lord and thairfore thay ordaint the thesaurer to gif him the soum of forty pounds.[123]

However, such references are few and far between, even in Edinburgh. Perhaps that city found the burden of royal entertainments taxing enough, without excessive literary patronage. The argument here put forward is that Aberdeen's recognition of the prestige accruing from such literary endeavours, and her moral and financial support for them, was one of the factors that contributed to the Latin renaissance in that city between 1620 and 1640. It will also be argued that such encouragement, both within the university system and outside it, contributed to changes in the nature of the verse itself.

One of the outcomes of official support for verse composition was to make available to Aberdonians a range of poetic topoi and themes of local significance, tried and tested in a flourishing tradition. Additionally, by giving process a competitive edge, the authorities and benefactors were reinforcing that tendency to retraction and intertextual agon in those very themes. Not only did the Liddell bequest actively encourage competition, but it was implicit in the anthologies of poems that came out of the Universities in the first half of the century. Collections of verses, printed with a prose oration, appeared on the death of the Earl Marischal in 1623, and of his son in 1635, on the death of Bishop Forbes also in 1635, and on the benefaction of Alexander Reid in 1631.[124]

The Oratio Eucharistica by John Lundie on the latter preserves poetic tributes by three philosophy students of King's College, Gilbert Middleton, William Lauder and Robert Brown, all of whom graduated in the following year. As examples of the kind of competitive verse fostered

by the new spirit of place, they provide a stark contrast to that of Cargill's. Middleton's second epigram on the benefaction is typical of them:

Aurea Aberdoniis en lux gratissima Musis,
Splendida gemmifero lux decorata Tago,
Gemmifero decorata Tago lux, nobilis urnae
Lilia qua nostrae pulchra rigata virent.
Arridens ter ave nobis lux ergo, per aevum
Splendescas radiis laudis amoena tuae.[125]

The poem incorporates an anagram on Alexander Reid's name- 'Ave lux arridens' - into a double image of the benefactor as a golden light and a golden stream. The river Tagus, familiar since classical times as a metaphor for financial hyperbole, refreshes the lilies on King's armorial bearings. One suspects that its not entirely applicable epithet 'gemmifero' came from the textbook as a synonym for the more usual 'aurifero', whose cognate had been applied to 'lux' in line one. But, as we have begun to see, the cultural community of Aberdeen were in the process of compiling a repertory of poetic themes and images on which to draw, and Middleton may also have been thinking of lines by John Leech: 'Teutonicum qua Deva subit, qua gemmifer aequor/Dona sub Arctoo longior axe petit'.[126] The couplet opens Leech's poem celebrating the completion of his degree in 1614, a pertinent epigram for Middleton, 'Philosophiae Studiosus', and refers, as Leask notes, to the harvesting of pearls in the Ythan estuary.[127] Leech employs the epithet twice more in new year poems of 1617. Iani Sperantis Strena has 'Quodve Caledonios qua Dona interfluit agros/Gemmifero versat gremio',[128]

whilst in Iani Maliferi Strena is the line 'Donaque gemmiferis qui subit aequor aquis'.[129] Leech in turn may have had in mind the 'gemmiferos Indos' of Buchanan's 'Genethliacon Jacobi Sexti'.[130]

Whatever the truth of the Don's supposed fertility in pearls, her richness as a source of imagery is unquestionable. David Wedderburn, as we have seen, draws upon the idea in Vivat Rex, as does John Johnston in his poem on Aberdeen, submitted for the 1607 edition of Camden's Britannia : 'Foecundo ditat Neptunus gurgite, et amnes/Piscosi; gemmis alter adauget opes'.[131] Arthur Johnston's sequence of epigrams on the towns of Scotland would seem to be influenced by those of his namesake. His verses on Abredonia Nova make the same juxtaposition: 'Salmonum dat Deva greges, maris aequora gazas,/Memphi, tuas, et quas India iactat opes'.[132] However, he holds back for the epigram on Kintore a more hyperbolic description of the river's riches:

> Dona Caledonios inter pulcherrimus amnes,
> Hoc rigat, et pingui ditior unda solo est.
> Plebs legit hic baccas, quales nec dives Hydaspes,
> Dives Erythraei nec parit unda freti.[133]

A second juxtaposition has now re-appeared, between Scotland's natural wealth and the fabulous or real riches of other lands. Johnston's use of the theme is unremarkable, but in others' hands it had powerful political overtones. David Hume's Moeris treats the subject of James' accession to the English throne and pleads that he should not neglect his native kingdom:

> Tum canit et gemmas properantem mittere Tethan
> Bodotriaeque sinus, et piscosa ostia Glottae;

Et ver perpetuum Nessi, densataque nullis

Flumina frigoribus. Mox ut Crafordia venas

Spondeat auriferas: Tagus invidet, et stupet Indus.[134]

The genesis of these lines will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter, but we should here note that these lines are a synthesis of two passages from an unfinished poem, first printed in the same work.[135]

In the earlier poem Hume contrasts Scotland's produce with symbols, both traditional and modern, of foreign wealth. England may boast of her wool and France of her wine:

Lydïus auriferas volvat Pactolus arenas;

Aemulis currat vagus Hermus undis:

Arvaque purpureis pulset rutilantia glebis

Qua vehit fulvum Tagus amnis aurum:

Ipsa suam Cererem que et pingues Moesia colles

Ruraque miretur, gravidasque aristas:

Trinacris Hybla favo, lentis Methymna racemis

Thure sudato tumeant Sabaei.[136]

Later, the deities of wealth transfer their affections to Scotland where 'Crafordia dives avaros/Incolas fulvo saturabit auro'.[137] We have met many of these elements elsewhere: Arthur Johnston compares the fertility of Kintore to Sicily and describes the local people, glutted on its mineral wealth. The Classical rivers remain as a timeless scale of values, by which the Don and the gold mines of Crafordia are to be measured.

Johnston's 'Encomia Urbium' continually revert to Classical imagery and models, a natural reflex of the Renaissance poet. We would be wrong to press his comparisons too far. With Godscroft, however,

there were stronger political motivations. As he writes in the treatise, De Unione Britannica:

> Sunt tamen in Scotia, et commoda haud spernenda; Aurum, Argentum, plumbum, gemmae, lapides preciosi; piscium, pecorum copia, quae an non Anglorum futura?[138]

Yet we may question whether, in his poetry, such an argument is helped or hindered by his resort to the well-worn Roman models. But such was the nature of Scottish Latin that such a juxtaposition of the native and the Classical was practically unavoidable; this was in part an effect of the way composition was taught. We need only to observe the recurrence of Classical loci and traditional epithets to feel the textbook's influence.

On the publication of Sir John Skene's Regiam Maiestatem, Hume composed two epigrams, perhaps intended a liminary verses for that work.[139] Although neither poem was accepted, a lengthy piece by James Carmichael, included in the English version of the text, seems to have been influenced by Hume's poem quoted above. Carmichael, possibly at Skene's prompting, considers how the author might be rewarded for his 'insomnes noctes' and 'Herculeas labores':

> Quando tibi nolis leges propinet inemtas,
> Scotigenam satis est si Scotica dona rependat.
> Tantundem obrizi Craufordia parturit auri,
> Flexilis unde frequens erumpit lamina tesquis,
> Quam Tagus auricolor duris eduxit Iberis.
> Nec minus argenti vernans Gareothia spondet,
> Cui fons ebullit nitidis argenteus undis,

Quam Craeso rutilis dederat Pactolus arenis;

Atque metalliferis ejecit fluctibus Hermus.[140]

However far we might wish to press the similarities of theme and expression, both writers would seem to share the underlying motif of the earthly paradise. In Hume's poem that theme is explicit: the oaks exuding 'mella... roscida', grapes richer than 'Campanis...racemis' and the overall fertility of the scene all testify to benign Saturnian rule. In the case of Carmichael, the pastoral setting has been removed, but the theme is implicit in his use of verbs: parturit, erumpit, ebullit and ejecit. The earth (and sea) actively disgorge their wealth, though the results are mineral, not vegetable.

Until we are possessed of an exhaustive catalogue of these themes, we cannot discuss their variations with any real confidence. The above discussion only begins to test the reflexes of a number of Scottish writers to one cluster of images. Gilbert Middleton, with whom this digression began, selected his epithet gemmifer inaccurately, but selected it within a tradition that may well have determined his choice. It can no longer be acceptable, simply to identify a Classical source and leave the matter at that. Middleton's epigram remains an interesting example of Aberdeen verse, a generation or more after Thomas Cargill first received pecuniary inducements. It shows a heavy reliance on the adjective for compositional padding. Each noun is thus accompanied, interleaved chiastically in the second line. Furthermore, he demonstrates the familiar art of 'turning' recommended in the curricula, by converting the phrase 'gemmifero lux decorata Tago' from pentameter to hexameter. The epigram trips along on its predominantly dactylic

feet in a mood of witty play for a solemn celebration. Compare this with the more sombre colouring of Cargill's occasional poem, quoted above. Here we find no decorative epithets and no distinctively visual imagery. The newly recognized importance of the epigram excluded too such ponderous exclamations as 'O quantus te expectat honos!'

This study has not dealt with the teaching of poetry chronologically. We do not possess a range of curricula through the sixteenth century, as exists in England, to adopt such a method. However, we may risk the comment that the composition of epigrams for their own sake, rather than as an adjunct to the prose theme, was a practice that gained respectability only at the end of the century, and particularly in the early seventeenth century. Even in the south, where the practice was considerably in advance of that in Scotland, the assembling and printing of verse anthologies from the schools and universities began late. Once the tradition had taken hold, it was, to a large extent, self-perpetuating. Brinsley summarizes the attitude admirably:

> Though Poetry be rather for ornament then for any necessary use; and the maine matter to be regarded in it, is the purity of phrase and of stile: yet because there is very commendable use of it, sometimes in occasions of triumph and rejoysing, more ordinarily at the funerals of some worthy personages, and sometimes for some other purposes; it is not amisse to traine up schollers even in this kinde also, and rather because it serveth very much for the sharpening of wit, and is matter of high commendation when a scholler is able to write a

smooth and pure verse, and to comprehend a great deale of choise matter in very little roome.[141]

The collections of verse produced for the royal visits of 1617 and 1633 and the obituary anthologies, of which there are arguably seven between 1599 and 1635, are discussed elsewhere. Of the poetry ccmposed for 'other purposes' within an institutional framework, little survives. The absence of a tradition of 'Act' or 'Lent' verses, strong in Oxford and Cambridge, no doubt contributed to this. The inclusion of dedicatory verses in printed theses was a sporadic and local phenomenon. From early seventeenth century St. Andrews, where verse-composition gained some prestige, four theses survive with Latin verses attached.[142] Two of these seem to be associated with Melvillian theses from St. Mary's. The inclusion of verse in the class theses of St. Leonard's in 1612 may be explained by the enthusiasm of Walter Dundas for poetry, to whom the printed text was dedicated. The epigram by G.I. in the thesis of Thomas Lundie (1602) surely shows Melvillian influence:

Regina virgo sponsa Regis imensi [sic]
Intacta quondam, pura coelitum consors,
Nunc triplicis admirata Belluae cristas,
Horret cruenti contumaciam vultus;
Seseque fucis obsitam meretricis
Abominata, spurca se nec agnoscit.

The promotion of competitive verse-making at Aberdeen was later reinforced by action at the school level. Among the regulations, dated June 1659, outlining the form of visitations at the Grammar School, is the recommendation that 'scholars be tried in making themes, inter-

preting and analysing authors and making verses'. As such this is no more than a quarterly check that the school is providing an acceptable education. However, the report goes on:

> 2)....the scholars who at the quarterly visit gains the premium shall, with his own hand, insert his name in the register, mentioning whether he gained it by making a theme or verse or analysing authors... The prizeman's theme shall be fixed above his class till next visit...
>
> 5) They who make the best verse and best theme shall each have a premium after it appears by examination to be their own making.[143]

As with the Liddell bequest, we cannot know how far and for how long such instructions were implemented. What manuscript evidence survives for verse-composition within the Scottish universities and schools is scanty and unrelated. Nevertheless, since it has never been considered, it now deserves our attention.

3. Manuscript Evidence

> Maudlin: How now Tim?
>
> Tim: Faith, busy, mother, about an epitaph
> Upon my sister's death.
>
> Maudlin: Death! She is not dead I hope?
>
> Tim: No: but she means to be, and that's as good
> And when a thing's done, 'tis done,
> You taught me that,mother.
>
> Yellowhammer: What is your tutor doing?

Tim: Making one too, in principal pure Latin,

Culled out of Ovid de Tristibus.[144]

Among the ephemera fortuitously rescued from the sixteenth century (less fortuitous, perhaps, for the authors) is a collection of Latin themes and verses from Edinburgh, scribbled out by students on rough scraps of paper - a messy habit, frowned upon by Vives and Wolsey.[145] Most probably they come from the Humanity Class of that College, which, as we have seen, was to provide a bridge between school and university, and where, in 1628, 'they are also sometimes exercised in making and turning of verses'. Three epigrams, probably dating from the 1590s, clearly come from the lowest level of verse instruction:

Carmina praeceptor iussit

Promittens poenas falsis et (praem) ia rectis.

Principio Deus adsit ope (et) serve poetis,

Ne patiatur perdi nostram sedulitatem.

Archibald Douglas.

Hos versos paucos iussit componere doctor

Falsis prcmittens poenas universaque iustis.

Aspiret Dominus coeptis rudibusque poetis,

Amissos nostros ne mittas esse labores.

David Syme.

Praeceptor nos iussit carmina condere pauca

Praemia promittens rectis poenas et ineptis.

Principio Deus adsit ope subvenire poetas,

Et ne sentit vanos nostros ferre labores.

Thomas Proband.

The dating of these exercises is problematic, for none are recorded as graduates from Edinburgh at this time. There are however other verses in sapphics by Alexander Moreson, and iambics by William Craig and William Hart, which suggest a date in the mid 1590s. The collection may owe its survival to the presence of a prose theme by Alexander Ruthven, later to be involved in the infamous Gowrie conspiracy, which also dates from this time.

Despite the damaged condition of Douglas' epigram, similarities of vocabulary and structure show them all to be versions or 'turnings' of a single, probably prose, original. Typically the students were instructed to find alternative forms for the sake of metre and originality, hence the synonyms for versus, praeceptor, falsus, and so on. One wonders what penalties were meted out for errors. All were guilty in some regard: Syme and Proband for false quantities, Douglas and Proband for misplaced caesurae. We might also note the rewarding (or, at least, the promise of it) of correct versification. The praemia may have been pecuniary, as was the case at Westminster School in the 1620s.[146] Here the boys were required to produce Greek and Latin verses 'and they that made the best 2 or 3 of them had some money given them by the schoolmaster for the most part'. Finally it is worth remarking that, in spite of the mundane nature of the exercise, the master has introduced a little useful information, teaching his students a stock exordium. This they dutifully repeat in the third line of the quatrain and would no doubt remember when they came to compose orations. Nor did they all forget their ability to turn verses when they graduated. Of the students whose exercises are preserved in the Edinburgh themes,

two, William Craig and William Hart, contributed obituary verses to the obituary volume on Robert Rollock, their former principal.[147] Hart too published a celebratory eclogue on James' accession at Paris in 1605.[148] Alexander Moreson, it seems, wrote an asclepiadic poem in George Craig's album, when he met him in Venice in 1602.[149]

These lines may be compared with four by Robert Boyd, preserved by Wodrow, composed for his pupils at the Protestant Seminary of Thouars 'in their intermediat entering in and going out':

Nos, Aeterne Deus, vultu dignare benigno
Adspicere et studiis semper adesse piis.
Laus tibi, Sancte Pater, qui nostra haec coepta secundas,
Sic foveat praesens nos tuus usque favor.[150]

One doubts that Boyd is here exporting a specifically Edinburgh theme, although he was educated under Rollock in the 1590s. Christian exordia were a common feature of the university oration and worship of various kinds punctuated the scholar's day. What has perhaps not been fully appreciated is the use of Latin verse to familiarize its audience with the rhythms and techniques of the medium long before they were required to write such verse themselves. Buchanan's psalms undoubtedly fulfilled this function. Conversely George Stirk prepared a versification of some parts of the Bible for use in a Bermudan school 'ut pueri simul cum Lingua Latina sacrae Historiae seriem a teneris imbibant'.[151]

John Adamson's Eloquiorum Dei was a work specifically designed to regularize the religious instruction within his own university and the city of Edinburgh, as the subtitle indicates:

'Methodus religionis Christianae catechetica in usum Academiae Iacobi regis et scholarum Edinburgensium conscripta'.[152] In addition to a catechetical exposition of the Protestant faith he included a collection of prayers for use at matins, at table and during communion. In addition, he supplied versifications of the Apostles' Creed, the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer by Patrick Adamson and the text of Bishop Hildebert's rhyming lyric 'de Sacro-Sancta Trinitate', beginning 'Alpha et omega Deus'. As late as 1657, John Row, Principal of King's College, Aberdeen was recommending the same poem in his rules for the college:

> Quotannis etiam omnes recolant et publice repetant et pronuncient rythmos Hildeberti episcopi Turonensis maxime orthodoxos de sancro sancta Trinitate et hymnum sabbaticum..[153]

Yet in the same leges in which Row was prescribing a twelfth century rhyming poem, he was stressing the need the purest Latin speech:

> Omnes et singuli non solum caveant vernacule et studeant Latinum loqui; sed et Latine et alii aliis aemulatione laudabili latinius imo et latinissime,.. Et ut barbarismus et soloecismus cacotomus et traulismus quatuor Latinitatis pestes his eliminentur aedibus...[154]

The phrase 'maxime orthodoxos' is clearly significant here, overriding allegations of impurity in the Latin. The enthusiasm for Hildebert's hymn is a peculiarity of the Scottish school books, but Lily too appended religious prayers in a variety of metres to his 'Shorte Introduction of Grammar', as well as his more famous 'De moribus'. We should add that the use of verse mnemoics of grammatical rules and exceptions, employed throughout the period and referred to earlier, also served to imprint the rhythm of the hexameter and pentameter upon

the young scholar's mind. Thus by a series of fortuitous accumulations, secular and sacred, the third year pupil was well acquainted with the rudiments and patterns of versification when he was introduced to Ovid and Virgil and was eventually required to make verses himself.

Since this chapter has concentrated upon the bed-rock of poetical practice and the lowest common denominators in that exercise, it would seem appropriate to close it with a discussion of an undoubted amateur in that pursuit, testing his powers of versification and responding to a tradition at its height. There survive a collection of letters, now in the Scottish Record Office, from one George Dundas, a student at St. Leonard's College, from the early seventeenth century.[155] They are addressed to his father, Walter Dundas of that ilk, his former tutor at Dunfermline, James Dalgleish, and his brother William, still a pupil at the grammar school there. If Dundas is not as informative regarding the day to day running of the college, as the young Mackenzies of a century later, he reveals far more about the status and practice of Latin verse.[156] Significantly St. Andrews made its major contribution to verse-writing at this time. From 1602-3 when the obituary volume on Wallace was printed and Echlin and Johnston saluted the Stuart succession, until 1617 when a sizeable collection of verse was presented to the King, St. Andrews outstripped Edinburgh and Aberdeen as a centre of verse-composition.[157] A few writers of verse from St. Andrews, such as Henry Danskin and Patrick Panter, continued to find outlets for their work after 1617 and subsequent to the moving of Raban's press to Aberdeen, but undoubtedly it was that city that nurtured the next (and perhaps the last) generation of versifiers.

The letters of George Dundas should be seen in the context of all the Dundas Papers, not as the isolated effulgence of an eager undergraduate. The interest and encouragement of his father was clearly a crucial factor in George's endeavours, as it was to his younger brother, William, in whose footsteps he trod. Two letters from the latter survive, the earlier of which shows him consciously emulating his elder brother:

> Postquam frater natu maximus a nobis (reverendissime pater) decessit et valedicens grammaticae, et grammaticalibus scriptoribus, Andreapolin ad capessendas altiores scientias contendit: anhelabat animus meus (amantissime pater) ad te scribere epistolium lingua Romana et latiali sermone...[158]

William's initial reluctance to risk offending his father's ear is outweighed by the recollection:

> quanta cum animi voluptate ac benignitate, paternitas tua literas illas quas amantissimus meus frater Georgius ad te scripsit in sua infantia et initio eas legerat.

A second letter, also addressed to Walter Dundas, was edited and translated by J.S. Ritchie in 1958.[159] This too admits to being rudimentary and more a grammatical exercise than personal correspondence. Since the Latin epistle was so important a part of school training it was no doubt encouraged by, or even required by, the master. However the satisfaction of the recipient clearly stimulated the efforts of both William and George. It becomes clear from George's letters that his father could read Greek and compose his own verses. Indeed he may have been the author of the edifying couplets inscribed on the fountain dial

erected in 1623 on the family estate. This thesis has not explored the influence of family relationships and paternal encouragement in the composition of Latin verse, but it may be suggested that this was no negligible factor. When the writing of verse was a voluntary part of school and university curricula, the added stimulus of an enthusiastic father, or schoolmaster was an important factor. David Hume writes of the encouragement both he and his brother received from Andrew Simson, and it is surely no coincidence that three of the latter's sons penned verse. Godscroft's children too composed verse: James in Latin, Anna in the vernacular. Similar family traditions may be seen among the Maitlands, the Anderson and Adamson clan from Perth, and the Chalmers. John Forbes contributed verses to his father's commentary on Revelations and to the funerary collection, while James Carmichael's liminary verse accompanied that of his father in Regiam Maiestatem, which the latter had helped to translate. Numerous other examples could be cited.

Verse compositon did not cease with George Dundas' departure from St. Andrews. Additional material in the Dundas Papers show how this tradition continued and gained momentum. Elegiacs on the death of Prince Henry, preserved in manuscript in the N.L.S., are probably by George.[160] No writer needed an excuse to expound on this theme, but his father, after all, had received his knighthood at the prince's baptism in 1594. Among the Dundas Papers in the S.R.O. are elegiacs on the marriage of George Dundas to Elizabeth Hamilton in 1612, followed by a couplet in Greek.[161] The verses are unsigned, but may well be the work of Walter Dundas himself. There survive anagrammatic verses addressed to Walter as 'Poetarum Maecenatis optimi' signed by 'Thomas

Tragiscus' and nugae concerning the return of a copy of Pliny's Natural History, addressed to 'Domino Dundasio'.[162] A wealthy father, two educated sons and a circle of admirers easily generates this kind of writing. It does not, of course, often survive. Again, it is interesting to see the Dunfermline schoolmaster, the recipient of a letter in Greek with elegiac verses, being drawn into the circle, once more with Walter's approval.[163]

Among the letters is an undated exercise in 'varying', which we have seen was so vital a part of educational practice in England.[164] The framework of the piece is an initial thema on the subject of silence, illustrated by relevant material taken from Ovid and Herodotus. Then, perhaps as a subsequent exercise, the Latin prose is turned into elegiacs and thence into Greek prose and elegiac verse. The story of the mute son of Croesus, provoked to speech by his father's imminent danger at the siege of Sardis, is cited from Herodotus I, chap. 85, but the language of the original source exerts no influence upon either the Greek or Latin versions. There is little evidence of the use of later sources such as Aulus Gellius and Valerius Maximus, who re-tell the story. If Dundas has delved deeply into his store of synonyms to provide alternative modes of expression in the initial Latin theme, then it is this initial paraphrase or parallel account that he has turned. Most likely, Dundas has based his theme upon none of these originals - there being no noticeable verbal or phraseological echoes - but has simply expanded a sentence from the Controversiae of the Elder Seneca:

> mutus in periculo patris naturalia vocis
> impedimenta perrupit, qui plusquam quinquiennio tacuerat.[165]

This would at least explain the retionalisation, introduced by Dundas, of the son's first words. For 'Charissime pater animadverte' is, after all, a more convincing spontaneous exclamation than the original 'Ὦνθρωπε μὴ κτεῖνε Κροῖσον'. If Dundas is expanding Seneca, in ignorance of the other accounts, then the remark is more in keeping with Seneca's theme of filial piety than the exclamation quoted by Herodotus and repeated by Valerius Maximus and Aulus Gellius. Such a theme may lead us to wonder whether the exercise was also designed for, or even by, George's father. The preservation of the piece may well suggest this.

The closeness with which the three variations cling to the prose model suggests that this was an early effort by George Dundas to write this kind of exercise. Here is how the author copes with the versification of the Croesus story: firstly, the thema latinum:

> Craesi, Lydiae regis filium, qui in toto vitae suae curriculo ne vel verbum proferens, ut primum tamen hostilem manum ad eripiendam patri vitam sublatam aspexerat, naturali sermonis instinctu ita praedominante in haec verba, charissime pater animadverte, coactus est erumpere.

The carmina latina reads:

> Scribit enim Craesi sobolem per tempora vitae
> Omnia compositis conticuisse labris:
> Nec sic conticuisse semel quin ora resolvens
> Verba referre diu clausa coactus erat:
> Namque patri in caedem quendam extendisse lacertum
> Quum videret, dixit: chare caveto pater.

There is a danger, in reflecting upon this kind of writing, simply of adopting the role of belated corrector. We should, notwithstanding, register the incorrect use of the imperative caveto. Further, we should notice that the slightly awkward and prolix expression for the assault on Croesus is maintained throughout the 'turning'. The phrase 'extendisse lacertum' remains present in the Greek prose:

ὅταν δε τον ἀνδρα τινα την ἑαυτου χειρα προς
το τον πατερα ἀποκτεινειν ἐμβαλλοντα
ἐπιβλεψῃ...

So too in the Greek verse: ' 'Αλλα ὅταν ἀνδρα τινα την αὐτου
χειρ' ἐπιβλεψῃ/ 'Αιρειν εἰς θανατον...'

Again the Greek is not faultless, but we may note the use of Homeric forms, common also in seventeenth century England.

Of the letters themselves there are ten, eight of which are addressed to Walter Dundas and one each to his brother and former tutor. Elegiac verses are attached to all but one of them, almost always echoing the sentiments or even the words of the epistle. As epistolary poems, they accord with the traditional pattern of composition, being the first genre of writing to be attempted after the short theme. The stylized nature of the letters (partly the result of the language in which they were written) and George's deference towards his father make us reticent (perhaps unduly so) to draw many conclusions as to his life in St. Andrews. There is little enough information conveyed, although our relative ignorance of student life in early seventeenth century St. Andrews renders any knowledge that can be retrieved priceless. We hear of his early acquaintance with Aristotle:

> Sic tecum sophisticari... liceat, quaeso mihi,
>
> quem nuper Aristoteles argutus noster archisophista
>
> subargutulo hoc videndi genere discipulum habet.[166]

his training in dialectic and his admiration for Horace, 'iucundissimo lyricorum principe'.[167] He writes of his trepidation at the approach of Lent both for its austerity and for the coming academic 'ludicris et certaminibus'.[168] For the latter he invites his father to grace 'nostras declamatiunculas' with his presence. It would seem that Walter Dundas accepted his son's invitation, for the St. Leonard's theses of 1612 are dedicated to them both. As to the former, he acknowledges his mother's gift of money ('leones'):

> Brevi enim tabellarium a matre mea charissima venturum expecto, qui mihi ad resistendos quadragesimae impetus arma quaedam et copias afferat, qui (inquam) ferocissima illa animalia leones utpote de more sic appellatos, ut cum quadragintiplico illo jeiunii monstro confligant afferat.

We see him reading over his father's letter in bed, lamenting the deaths of friends, requesting books, enduring the harsh weather:

> virentes lauriferosque petimus Heliconis campos, ubi frigora, nives, et horridas brumae tempestates elegantium studiorum amoenitate mulcemus, minuimus et quodammodo effugimus.[169]

At such times he regrets the long period of study - 'ad solemnes novem menses colimus' - such that in the brief summer recess, granted to see family and friends, 'non tam domum quam domo redire videbamur'.[170]

Nevertheless his father's letters keep him company, stored 'in capsa et scrineo ut in cimeliarcho'.[171] Although none of these letters survive, their tone and manner suffuse George's own writing.

Had we been concerned only with the factual details of George Dundas' sojourn at St. Leonard's, the prosaic part of his epistles alone would have detained us. However, his essays at verse-composition have much to tell us of the conventions impinging upon this kind of writing and the background to it. They were written over a period of at least three years, three of the letters referring to Lent and three others to the new year. George Dundas was not a writer of verse when he left Dunfermline, for eleven couplets celebrating the new year are introduced as:

> quosdam a me scriptos versiculos ut primas ingenii mei foetus minime adhuc arti poeticae idonei.[172]

Indeed, what would appear to be the earliest letter of the group, signifying George's intention to devote himself conscientiously to his academic pursuits, does not contain any verses. Yet at an early stage in the correspondence father and son were exchanging verses, as George Dundas makes clear:

> Cum non solum (amantissime pater) poetica tua carmina dulcissimas ac saluberrimas fontium musis dedicatorum aquas redolentia, verum etiam copiosam tuam epistolam nequaquam numero poetico devinctam accepissem...[173]

and elsewhere: 'literae tuae una cum mellifluo carmine'.[174]

Walter Dundas' prowess both at verse composition and in conventional Latin epistle undoubtedly complicates their relationship.

It is possible to isolate a number of levels of poetic discourse in George's replies. On one level the elegiacs are employed for purely personal greeting, and are little more than versified epistle:

> Ergo vale in Christo pater o charissime, matri
> In domino Christo sit quoque longa salus.
> Qualiacunque tibi iam carmina scripsimus, illa,
> Chare mihi genitor, consule, quaeso, boni.
> Sunt mala: sed cur non puerilia conderet ille,
> Qui puer est, posthac his meliora dabo.[175]

There are strains of the 'modesty topos' being played out here, but the whole is little more than a simplification of the prose:

> Officiose domina matre mihi charissima a me salutata finem hinc nostra epistolio impraesentiarum impono.
>
> Tu itaque (reverende domine) nostram infantiam et infacund um discursum puerili more contextum pro tua humanitate aeque accipies animo, ubi provectum fuerit ingenium et maturitas annorum accesserit, canescet oratio. In domino Christo sit tibi certa salus.

This is George Dundas at his most unsophisticated, passing off the verse as 'primos ingenii mei foetus' and requesting the help of his father's correcting hand:

> Per me tibi licebit (domine) delere, corrigere ac immutare pro limato ac perpolito tuo iudicio...[176]

Whether George's letters and verses were corrected and returned to St. Andrews remains in doubt, but he requested help on more than one occasion:

Hac itaque spe fretus eas rursus has meas literas, et pauca inculta carmina xenii partes agentia tuae castigationi iam exhibeo: tu, cense, quaeso, ac si libuerit rigide pro delictis plecte: tuam ego censuram beneficii loco lubens accipiam.[177]

Dundas' deference towards his father's cultural and linguistic refinements is evident in all his letters, and, like his brother, he was under considerable pressure to emulate them:

> Quis nisi mentis inops non intelligat quantus sit tuus erga literas amor, et quanto desiderio me vestigiis tuis instare studeas, virtutem amando musasque colendo quemadmodum tu a teneris unguiculis fecisti.... Scio (domine omni reverentia digne) te eorum benignum ac candidum lectorem futurum, certo etiam calleo te patienti animo perlecturum; dum deo ex infinita sua misericordia mihi veniam poeticam concedere placuerit, dumque sacras fontes musarum, ut tu, (amantissime domine) libavero...(my italics).[178]

We recognize here, without undue surprise, the amalgam of phrases from Cicero, Ovid and elsewhere that we would expect in such a composition. More revealing, perhaps is the way that Dundas' prose is permeated with poetic rhythms and imagery. Conceivably, Dundas is in the process of assembling 'choise sentences and matter' for use in his verses and has here resorted to some of them in his epistle, perhaps because of the subject matter of the letter. He versifies the above sentiments thus:

At mihi nec musae arrident, neque cantor Apollo,
Non mihi Melpomine, non mihi Clio favet.
Quamvis docte parens, et musae, et praeses Apollo
Aspirent, Helicon Calliopeque tibi.
Sed quid enim prosunt mea carmina, cum tua multo
Praestent, versiculos exuperentque meos.
O utinam musae mihi dent, et praeses Apollo,
Ut mihi vel rabies ingeniumve foret.

There is little in Dundas' vocabulary and Classical echoes to surprise us, although there is no evidence of the influence of Sallust, a text of which he requests in one of the letters.[179] Sallust was a common enough school text in England, but Dundas probably required it for his rhetorical practice, rather than for his letters home. His father's Latin may well have exerted considerable influence but, as with the Scotstarvet letters, we are only blessed with one side of the correspondence. A number of references in George's letters suggest that he received family news and paternal encouragement peppered with Classical allusion and 'aureas sententias'. In one, Walter compares St. Andrews to Athens;[180] in another, commenting on his son's affiliation to Harpocrates, he wonders if George has moved 'ex loquaci Aristotelis lycaeo' to the 'mutas Pythagorae scholas'.[181] In reply, George describes how, following Ariadne's thread, he has crossed 'asinorum pontem' and emerged:

> ad planos tandem Topicorum agros, ubi gressu liberiore datur spatiari, delatus, amoenissimos Parnassi colles invisere decrevi.[182]

At a further level, the relationship of George and Walter Dundas is depicted as patron and client, in which the son's poems are part of a series of financial transactions. George fulfils his obligations by returning 'a poem for pennies':

Carmine pollicitus (genitor reverende) priore
Grandia praesenti reddere parva queo:
Acceptoque tuo nostris pro versibus auro,
Versificem addixi me sine fine tibi.[183]

Similarly, his father's poetry is evaluated in financial terms, even if Dundas purports to deny such quantitative judgements:

Quandoquidem genitor carmen pretiosius auro
Misisti, musis gratulor usque tuis.
Non equidem dignus sum versibus, et minus auro,
Auribus haec non sunt carmina digna tuis.[184]

Some lines later, when the pun has been exhausted, the metaphor lingers on: 'Quid tamen optarem?' Tibi sors virtusque benigne/Et natura suas accumularit opes.' The word-play is no inappropriate device for Dundas, for the aures that evaluate his verse are seen as the determining factor in the aurum he received for it.

Even if we are justifiably reluctant to accept that George Dundas feels his verse to be the chief insurance for his survival at St. Andrews, undoubtedly he finds it an attractive and appropriate role to adopt. Thus he feigns confusion when his father tips the scales of their relationship too far:

Carmine quid (genitor) nostras pensare Camaenas
Muneribusque simul fallere rite studes.
Carmina si mittas satis est pro carmine nostro...[185]

The economic aspect of their relationship is most clearly exemplified in the poems written at the new year, of which three survive. Here Dundas is writing in the tradition of strenae or étrennes, which themselves had strongly contractual overtones. Even in England, where the new year began in April until 1600, it was traditional to give gifts, especially to one's social superior, as a token of allegiance, in January. Elizabeth and James were deluged with gifts at such times; Ben Jonson writes:

> Today old Janus opens the new year,
> And shuts the old. Haste, haste, all loyal swains,
> That know the times and seasons when t'appear,
> And offer your just service on these plains:
> Best kings expect first fruits of your glad gains.[186]

Indeed, so strong was the obligation that Roger Ascham is reputed to have hastened his death by his eagerness to greet Elizabeth with new year verses in 1568.

New year poetry is a sub-genre in itself, with its own rules and conventions, deserving of some attention. That the poet, alleging his customary impoverishment, might supply his master or patron with verses as an alternative to a present, seems to have established itself as a tradition in Britain during the course of the sixteenth century. A number of poets - George Herbert and Thomas Carew, for example - simply despatch the poem as if it were a gift. Thus the poem stands in its own right, independent of the convention, unless it be to derive some inspiration from the time of year:

Look back, old Janus, and survey

From Time's birth to this new-born day,

All the successful season bound

With laurel wreaths, and trophies crown'd...[187]

An intermediate type, such as Robert Ayton's Basia sive Strena or John Leech's Iani Maliferi Strena or Iani Sperantis Strena, employ the poem to argue for the appropriateness of a seemingly insubstantial gift.

Other writers still feel the need to incorporate the 'excuse', whether it be the profession of poverty or relative unworthiness, into the body of the poem. Humfrey Gifford concludes his gift poem to Master G.R. thus:

Of fortune's giftes since slender is my part,

Take here in signe of happy yeere at hand,

These ragged lines, true herauldes of my heart,

By which yee may my meaning understand...[188]

while William Cartwright, in a rather more complex adaptation of the theme, writes, 'though we no flying present have to pay,/A quill yet snatch'd from thence may sign the Day'.[189]

Thus the recurrent motifs in the genre are: a recognition of the new year and the obligation incumbent upon the poet, confession of inability fully to discharge that duty, dedication of first fruits and finally the wish that the recipient's year will be a fortunate one. Closest to Dundas' use of the genre is perhaps the letter, dated 1604, from Prince Henry to his father:

Cum et publico strenarum hoc anni tempore missitandarum

exemplo, et privatim annua mea consuetudine monitus,

necessitatem mihi impositam animadverterem, sacram majestatem tuam literario aliquo munere salutandi, nullum occurrebat aut convenientius tempori, aut studiis meis accomodatius, aut majestati tuae... acceptius futurum, quam si carmine, novo scilicet scriptionis genere, ipsum donarem.[190]

As God himself prefers the offerings of a poor man, so may James accept 'tenuis primordia Musae', wishing that his year begin favourably and 'multo faelicius exeat'.

The response of George Dundas to the same situation is identical:

Auribus ingeminat nostris de more Calendis
Danda suis dona, ut faustior annus eat.
Quid tibi donabo, genitor reverende? nec aurum
Nec gemmae, nec opes ex oriente mihi.
Munera nec Craesi nec ditia dona Quirini
Sunt mihi, quae xenii mittere more queam.
Quamvis ista mihi desint pro munere mitto
Gratius ecce tibi, charius atque mihi.
Nam mihi divitiae charae charissima dona
Carmina...[191]

If his father think little of the gift, Dundas suggests elsewhere how the economic balance may be maintained:

Si nihil esse putes, paribus me ulciscere donis
Et cito sed larga carmina mitte manu.
Munera docta quidem, genitor, tibi plura darentur

Aurea, sors animo si foret aequa meo.[192]

We have suggested that Dundas is responding to a common tradition with a series of not unexpected elements. We can, however, take the matter a little further than that. In the one letter written wholly in prose, probably soon after George's arrival in St. Andrews, he tells his father:

> ante paucos dies mihi in animo erat ad te pro Salustio et Buchanani epigrammatis scripsisse quos ad me multo vehementer atque humiliter rogo...[193]

Whether he required a copy of Buchanan for his studies at St. Leonards - the Epigrams were, as we have seen, a common feature of the school curricula - we cannot say, but he undoubtedly used the text in composing his verses to his father.

We can most conveniently assess Dundas' indebtedness to Buchanan, a debt which significantly declines as his confidence grows, by quoting in full the earliest strena. This poem he introduces as 'quosdam a me scriptos versiculos ut primos ingenii foetus minime adhuc arte poetica idonei', [194] itself containing a debt to Buchanan's strena 'Ad Iohannem Havartam'.

> Hac ego spe fretus,quamvis exilia dona,
> Ingenii foetus carmina mitto mei[195]

which Dundas re-deploys verbatim in a later poem:

> Chare mihi genitor licet haec exilia dona
> Ingenii foetus carmina mitto mei.[196]

Here then is Dundas' earliest exercise in verse writing, a poem of twenty-two lines:

Mos antiquus erat Iani dare dona calendis,

Ut studia auspicio prosperiore fluant.

Fas mihi sit genitor, pro strena mittere versus,

Maiori fateor munere dignus eras.

Carmina pauca tibi si sint pro munere danda

Accipe pro xenio carmina pauca, pater.

Si nihil esse putes, paribus me ulciscere donis

Et cito sed larga carmina mitte manu.

Munera docte quidem genitor tibi plura darentur

Aurea sors animo si foret aequa meo.

Non laudem merui quod luna carmina digna

Miseram, ac incudi carmina redde mea.

Non ita me scabies rabiesve poetica vexat

Ut valeam extemplo carmina docta loqui.

Sed si indigna sicut vel rustica carmina nostra,

Non animo irato munera nostra cape.

Ergo vale in christo, pater o charissime, matri

In domino christo sit quoque longa salus.

Qualiacunque tibi iam carmina scripsimus illa

Chare mihi genitor consule quaeso boni.

Sunt mala: sed cur non puerilia conderet ille

Qui puer est. posthac his meliora dabo.[197]

At line 18 is the formula that Dundas elsewhere used in his prose epistle. In the strena dated 4 Kal. Jan. 1608, it reappears:

Ast ego ne vanis votis tua tempora perdam,

In domino Christo sit tibi firma salus.[198]

Both versions seem to have their origin in Buchanan's strena to Lord Darnley:

Ast ego ne lassem tibi vanis aethera votis,
Optime rex, opto, sit tibi certa salus.[199]

From the collection of nineteen strenae gathered among the Strenae, Pompae and Valentiniana of Buchanan's third book of epigrams, Dundas has pillaged from six to create his first. The opening lines of the fourth, 'Ad Discipulos' gives Dundas his set-piece introduction:

Mos vetus est Iani dare mutua dona Kalendis,
Annus ut auspicio prosperiore fluat.[200]

Behind Buchanan's lines lies the French tradition of étrennes, again with familiar compositional elements. Jean Passerat's 'Poema inscriptum Nihil', a poem corresponding to our 'intermediate' type and a tour de force of deflationary economics, begins:

Ianus adest, festae poscunt sua dona Kalendae
Munus abest festis quod possim offerre Kalendis.[201]

Du Bellay's 'Ad Sanseverinum' announces its theme:

Quot mihi tu versus Iani donare Kalendis
Dignaris, totidem mittimus ecce tibi.[202]

Elsewhere, in a poem addressed to Jean du Bellay, he concludes with the second thematic element:

Ut novus a Iano currat feliciter annus[203]

paralleled by Buchanan's:

.....Ut novus exacto faustior annus eat[204]

from the Darnley strena. This in turn is picked out by Dundas for his 1608 Strena:

Auribus ingeminat nostris de more Calendis

Danda suis dona, ut faustior annus eat.[205]

Confronted by such formulaic phraseology, we must beware of chasing Dundas along too many crowded cul-de-sacs. Although he may have consulted other writers of strenae in composing his own, there is no certainty beyond the undeniable debt to Buchanan.

Buchanan's third strena provides two phrases employed by Dundas here:

Haec tibi pro xenio carmina pauca damus.

Sunt mala: sed si vis, poterunt divinia videri

Nam nunc quod magno venditur aere, bonum est.[206]

and a third phrase used in a poem addressed to his father on Idibus Aprilis. The fourth, another dedicated to Mary, Queen of Scots, provides further less than raw material:

Do quod adest: opto quod abest tibi: dona darentur

Aurea, sors animo si foret aequa meo.

Hoc leve si credis, paribus me ulciscere donis:

Et quod abest, opta tu mihi: da quod adest.[207]

In general Dundas has 'borrowed' a number of unremarkable phrases from a collection of unremarkable Buchanan poems. There are one or two expressions not already noted: 'Et natura suas accumularit opes', from the tenth strena to Elizabeth, used by Dundas in verses not written for the new year.[208] Two descriptions of the poet's traditional poverty from the second strena to the wife of William Cecil are borrowed by Dundas: 'At si quem scabies, rabies ve poetica vexet' and 'Addita pauperies vatibus usque comes'.[209] One borrowing shows Dundas to have

read a little more widely than the Strenae of the third book of epigrams. 'Carius esse sibi, gratius esse tibi' from 'De Adamante misso a Regina Scotiae ad Reginam Angliae' in the first book, is converted by Dundas to 'gratius ecce tibi, charius atque mihi' for the purposes of the 1608 strena.[210]

There are in all twenty-one borrowings from Buchanan, from eleven different epigrams. We may wish to call this plagiarism, for there is no evidence of Dundas drawing attention to the passages for recognition of conscious quotation. Such work would have fallen foul of the 1659 Aberdeen strictures against surreptitious borrowing. However, the debt is double-edged. Dundas requested a copy of Buchanan as much for a repertoire of images for the patron/client relationship as for a means of padding out his verses. Thus his relationship with his father, as depicted in the poems, was to a degree determined by Buchanan's practice. It may well be that where the Epigrams were used as a school text, it was as a model for this kind of occasional verse. This would partly explain their enduring influence.

NOTES

1. See for example J.H.Burton, The Scot Abroad (Edinburgh and London, 1881); Francisque Michel, Les Ecossais en France, two volumes (London and Bordeaux, 1862) and a series of books by T.A. Fischer; The Scots in Germany (Edinburgh, 1902), The Scots in Eastern and Western Prussia and Hinterland (1903) and The Scots in Sweden (1907).

2. John Leech, Musae Priores (London, 1620), sig. F6r of the Epigrams.

3. David Buchanan, De Scriptoribus Scotis Libri Duo, edited by David Irving for the Bannatyne Club (Edinburgh, 1837).

4. Poems on the accession were published by John Barclay, Thomas Craig, John Echlin, John Gordon, David Hume, Adam King and George Thomson.

5. See, for example, Louis B. Wright, Middle Class Culture in Elizabethan England (Chapel Hill, 1935).

6. William Harrison Ainsworth, The Admirable Crichton (London: Everyman's Library, 1927), p.388.

7. Bradner, pp. 125, 127 and 128.

8. Jonathan Culler, The Pursuit of Signs: Semiotics, Literature, Deconstruction (London and Henley, 1981), p.6.

9. Culler, p.6.

10. Culler, pp. 7-11 and 119-31. See also Christopher Norris, Deconstruction: Theory and Practice (London and New York, 1982).

11.

12. John Stockwood, Progymnasma Scholasticum (London, 1597).

13. Michael Riffaterre, Semiotics of Poetry, second edition (London, 1980), p.6.

14. James Grant, History of the Burgh and Parish Schools of Scotland (London and Glasgow,1876).

15. M. L. Clarke, Classical Education in Britain 1500-1900 (Cambridge, 1959); James Scotland, The History of Scottish Education, two volumes (London, 1969). See also John Strong, A History of Secondary Education in Scotland (Oxford, 1909).

16. The development probably owed much to the presence of Melville and Johnston at St. Mary's.

17. A.F. Hutchison, History of the High School of Stirling (Stirling, 1904).

18. Grant, pp. 337-8. The exact dating of this curriculum, which remains problematic, does not affect this study.

19. George Chalmers, Life of Thomas Ruddiman (London, 1794), pp. 88-90.

20. William Steven, The History of the High School of Edinburgh (Edinburgh, 1849), Appendix, pp. 29-30.

21. Grant, pp. 341-3.

22. Hutchison, p. 71.

23. Clarke, p. 135.

24. The Scholemaster by Roger Ascham, edited by John E.B. Mayor (London, 1863), p.118. Ascham, however, follows Cicero in rejecting metaphrasis as a harmful discipline, much preferring paraphrasis.

25. Baldwin, I, 125 and 305; Foster Watson, The English Grammar Schools to 1660: their Curriculum and Practice (Cambridge, 1908), pp. 472-3.

26. Clarke, p.139.

27. Most of these celebrate a royal visit or accession day, which Elizabeth turned into a significant political event.

28. Clarke, p.136; Strong, pp. 89-90.

29. Scotland, I, 50-1.

30. Grant, p.216.

31. Thomas Crauford, History of the University of Edinburgh from 1580 to 1646 (Edinburgh, 1808), gives a series of accounts of the election of Humanity regents; see pp. 104-5, 117, 124, 130 and 149.

32. The Works of John Knox, six volumes (Edinburgh, 1846-64), II, 210.

33. See, for example, Margaret M. Kay, The History of Rivington and Blackrod Grammar School (Manchester, 1931), pp. 163-89.

34. McFarlane, p. 505.

35. Ecphrasis Paraphraseos G. Buchanani, in Psalmos (London, 1620).

36. McFarlane, p. 276.

37. Ecphrasis, sig. A2v.

38. Ecphrasis, sig. A8v.

39. McFarlane, pp. 276 and 307

40. See above, p.127.

41. The Latin Epigrams of Thomas More, edited by Leicester Bradner & Charles Arthur Lynch (Chicago, 1953), pp. 76 and 115.

42. Baldwin, I.

43. Theological Works of Isaac Barrow, edited by Alexander Napier, nine volumes (Cambridge, 1859), IX, xvii, quoted by Hoyt Hopewell Hudson, The Epigram in the English Renaissance (Princeton, 1947), pp. 147-8. Scaliger and Puttenham do not restrict the genre to such narrow limitations. A poem of forty lines by John Forbes in Patrick Forbes, An Learned Commentarie (Middleburg, 1614), sig. A4, is there called an 'epigram'.

44. Hoyt Hudson, p.153n.

45. H.F.M. Simpson, Bon Record (Aberdeen, 1906), pp. 164-5.

46. The Epigrams of P. Virgilius Maro and others. Englished by I. P. (London, 1624).

47. Grant, p.341.

48. Alexander Grant, The Story of the University of Edinburgh, two volumes (London, 1884), I, 189-94.

49. Steven, Appendix, pp. 24-6.

50. See above p.142.

51. Crauford, pp. 64-5. The University lost regents both to the High School (pp. 64 and 117) and to the Cannongate (p.129).

52. The Muses Welcome prints Danskin's Latin oration.

53. Robert Baron, Philosophia Theologiae Ancillans (St. Andrews, 1621), sig. ¶ 5v.

54. Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen 1570-

1625 (Aberdeen, 1848), II, 336-8.

55. Council Register, II, 392-3.

56. Strong, p.151.

57. M. M. Kay, Rivington.

58. As Jonson tells Drummond in the 'Conversations'; Ben Jonson. The Complete Poems, edited by George Parfitt (Harmondsworth, 1975), p.471.

59. James Brinsley, Ludus Literarius (London, 1612), sig. B64v.

60. BL MS.Cotton Titus B.viii f. 291, noticed in J.A. Van Dorsten, Poets, Patrons and Professors (Leiden and London, 1962), p.158.

61. A.-M. Guillemin, L'originalité de Virgile (Paris, 1931), pp. 5-9; W. F. Jackson Knight, Roman Virgil, revised edition (Harmondsworth, 1966), pp. 101 and 107. David Hume's use of the technique is discussed in the following chapter.

62. Particularly the work of Harold Bloom and Paul de Man.

63. St. Andrews Univ. MSS. S.L.320. The Orators Book covers the period 1589-95.

64. There are verse orations by George Butler, John Douglas, Alexander Simson, David Sinclair and James Wilkie.

65. Cited by Clarke, p.139.

66. See above, p.130.

67. Brinsley, sig. Cc3r.

68. The Scholemaster, p.118.

69. A.C. Spearing, Criticism and Medieval Poetry, second edition (London, 1972), pp. 51-75, has a useful account of the ethos behind these works.

70. Fasti Academiae Mariscallanae Aberdonensis, edited by P.J. Anderson for the New Spalding Club, three volumes (Aberdeen, 1889),I, 124

71. Fasti, I, 127.

72. David Leech, Philosophia Illachrymans (Aberdeen, 1637).

73. John Lundie, Oratio Eucharistica et Encomiastica (Aberdeen, 1631).

74. The oration; from the Kirkwall Bibliotheck, is now in Aberdeen University Library.

75. Musa, III,220-1.

76. The Autobiography and Diary of Mr. James Melvill, edited by Robert Pitcairn for the Wodrow Society (Edinburgh, 1842), p.33.

77. St. Andrews Univ. MSS. S.L. 320 (pp. 191-5).

78. Fasti, I, 127.

79. Fasti, I, 135.

80. Fasti, I, 135.

81. Bannatyne Miscellany, II (Edinburgh, 1836), pp. 91-2.

82. McFarlane, p.215.

83. Reprinted in Musa. III, 3

84. Ninian Campbell, A Treatise upon Death (Edinburgh, 1635), sig. Bir.

85. Funerals of P. Forbes (Aberdeen, 1635).

86. John Herkless and Robert Kerr Hannay, The College of St. Leonard

(Edinburgh and London, 1905), p.147.

87. R.S. Rait, The Universities of Aberdeen. A History (Aberdeen, 1895), p.255.

88. St.A.U.L. MSS. S.L.320 (pp. 191-5).

89. 'Extracts from the Accounts of the Burgh of Aberdeen', Spalding Club Miscellany V (Aberdeen, 1852), p.117. Printed in Musa, III, 34-5.

90. Council Register, II, 222.

91. Council Register, II, 223.

92. Council Register, II, 238. Wedderburn and Reid were joint masters from February, 1602 until October, 1603.

93. Council Register, II, 262-4.

94. Council Register, II, 328.

95. Council Register, II, 366.

96. 'Extracts from the Accounts of the Common Good of Various Burghs in Scotland, relative to Payments for Schools and Schoolmasters, between the years 1657 and 1634', Miscellany of the Maitland Club (Edinburgh, 1840), II, 39-50.

97. Crauford, pp. 64 and 117. When John Ray moved from the Toun's College to the High School, he probably increased his wages by fifty marks. See Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh A.D. 1589-1603 (Edinburgh, 1927), pp.209 and 265.

98. Council Register, II, 366-9.

99. Council Register, II, 392-3.

100. Reprinted in Musa, III, 399-400. There is one epigram by Wedderburn on sig. A3r of Andrew Logie, Cum Bono Deo. Raine from the Clouds upon a Choicke Angel (Aberdeen, 1624.)

101. Spalding Club Miscellany, V, 101.

102. Spalding Club Miscellany, V, 97 (1617-18).

103. Spalding Club Miscellany, V, 144.

104. Spalding Club Miscellany, V, 150.

105. Spalding Club Miscellany, V, 101-2. See also J.P. Edmond, The Aberdeen Printers, four parts (Aberdeen, 1884-6), I,22, who does not identify the Gardyne pamphlet.

106. Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen 1625-42 (Edinburgh, 1871), p.60; Edmond, Aberdeen Printers, p.47.

107. Harry G. Aldis, A List of Books Printed in Scotland before 1700.

108. Edmond, Aberdeen Printers, pp. 44-5.

109. Delitiae, II, 553; Musa, III, 381.

110. Printed in Τὰ τῶν Μουσῶν Ἔξόδια (Edinburgh, 1618).

111. Ἔξόδια, sig. B4v; Delitiae, II, 568.

112. Musa, III, 392.

113. Abredonia Atrata (Aberdeen, 1625), sig. B1v.

114. Musa, III, 424.

115. See below, pp.220-2.

116. Council Register 1625-42, p.29; Spalding Club Miscellany, V, 147.

117. Council Register 1625-42, p.32 (13 July, 1630). Wedderburn did not receive the money until February, 1632 (Spalding Club Miscellany, v, 148).

118. Council Register 1625-42, p.50.

120. Council Register 1625-42, p.99.

121. Register of the Privy Council, second series, III, pp. 500 and 597

122. Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh AD 1626-41 (Edinburgh, 1936), p.29.

123. Edinburgh Records 1604-26 (Edinburgh,1931), p.115.

124. Lachrymae Academiae Marischallanae (Aberdeen, 1623); Lachrymae Academiae Marischallanae (Aberdeen, 1635).

125. Lundie, Oratio, sig. C2v, reprinted in Musa, III, 308-9.

126. John Leech, Musae Priores, sig. B4r of the Epigrams.

127. Musa, III, 258.

128. Iani Maliferi Strena (Edinburgh, 1617), sig.A3v.

129. Iani Maliferi Strena (Edinburgh, 1617), sig. B4r.

130. Opera Omnia, II, 342.

131. Musa, III, 156.

132. Musa, II, 277.

133. Musa, II, 281.

134. David Hume, Moeris (Edinburgh, 1604), sig. B1v.

135. See below, pp. 286-8.

136. Moeris, sig. B4r.

137. Moeris, sig. B4v.

138. David Hume, De Unione Insulae Britannicae Tractatus (London, 1605), sig. B2r.

139. David Hume, Poemata Omnia (Paris, 1639), sigs N3v - 4r. Hume's association with the Presbyterian radicals is discussed in the next chapter.

140. John Skene, Regiam Majestatem; the Auld Lawes and Constitutions of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1609), sig. Hh3r. The liminary verse for both the Latin and vernacular texts of Regiam Majestatem provides an illuminating study of the conventions of such verse and suggests that Skene did not allow his contributors a free hand. I hope to pursue this study elsewhere.

141. Brinsley, sig. B64r.

142. See Ronald Gordon Cant, 'The St. Andrews University Theses, 1579-1747: a bibliographical introduction'. Edinburgh Bibliographical Society Transactions, II (Edinburgh, 1941), Part 2, 107-50. They are the class theses from St. Salvator's of 1603 (p. 121) and St. Leonard's of 1612 (pp. 122-3), and those of Patrick Geddie from 1600 (p.144) and Thomas Lundie from 1602 (p.147).

143. Grant, pp.149-50. There is evidence that the Liddell bequest did not operate as successfully as the benefactor would have

wished. The Council Register, II, 364-5, notes that four bursaries in 1619 had been vacant for two years and only two scholars came forward as candidates. No need for competitive verse-making here, we would imagine.

144. Thomas Middleton, A Chaste Maid in Cheapside, V, ii, 9-18.

145. S.R.O. MS. La.II,55.

146. The description, supposedly by Archibishop Laud, is quoted by Foster Watson, p.471.

147. Vitae et Mortis D.R. Rolloci Narratio (Edinburgh, 1599), sigs C3v-4r. Hart's verse was printed by the Bannatyne Club, De Vita et Morte Roberti Rollok...Narrationes (Edinburgh, 1826), pp.69-71.

148. William Hart, Ecloga Caledon ad...Jacobum Primum (Paris, 1605).

149. James Fowler Kellas Johnstone, The Alba Amicorum of George Strachan, George Craig, Thomas Cumming (Aberdeen, 1924), 22.

150. Robert Wodrow's Life of Mr. Robert Boyd of Trachrege, printed for the Wodrow Society (Glasgow, 1845), p.15.

151. George Stirk, Musae Somerenses (London, 1635), sig. B3v.

152. John Adamson, Στοιχείωσις Eloquiorum Dei (Edinburgh, 1627)

153. Fasti Aberdonenses Selections from theRecords of the University and King's College of Aberdeen 1494-1854. (Aberdeen,1854),p.244.

154. Fasti Aberdonenses, p.241. The hymn also appears in Octupla (Edinburgh, 1696).

155. S.R.O. MS.GD73/573.

156. Two Students at St. Andrews 1711-1716, edited by William Croft Dickinson (Edinburgh and London, 1952).

157. Antiquissimae Celeberrimaeque Academiae Andreanae Χαριστήρια (Edinburgh, 1617).

158. S.R.O. MS. GD 75/876.

159. J.S. Ritchie, 'A Schoolboy's Letter, 1610' SHR, XXXVII (Edinburgh, 1958), 34-7. Ritchie's ignorance of William's other letter and of those from his brother seems to due to the division of the collection between the S.R.O. and N.L.S. The letter from George to William is in GD 75/575. Some account of the family may be found in Royal Letters and other Historical Documents selected from the Family Papers of Dundas of Dundas, edited by Rev. Walter Macleod (Edinburgh, 1892).

160. N.L.S., Dundas Papers, 80.7.2. f.53.

161. GD 75/730.

162. GD 75/733; GD 75/732.

163. GD 75/574.

164. GD 75/573 (9).

165. Seneca, Controversiae VII, 5, 13.

166. GD 75/573 (3).

167. GD 75/573 (4).

168. GD 75/573 (2).

169. GD 75/573 (4). The description is in part metaphorical.

170. GD 75/573 (4).

171. GD 75/573 (7).

172. GD. 75/573 (7).

173. GD. 75/573 (2).

174. GD 75/573 (1).

175. GD 75/573 (7).

176. GD 75/573 (7).

177. GD 75/573 (5), dated 29 December, 1607.

178. GD 75/573 (2).

179. GD 75/573 (6).

180. GD 75/573 (5).

181. GD 75/573 (8).

182. GD 75/573 (8).

183. GD 75/573 (4).

184. GD 75/573 (2).

185. GD 75/573 (1).

186. Ben Jonson. The Complete Poems, p.227.

187. The Poems and Masque of Thomas Carew, edited by J. W. Ebsworth (London, 1893), p.97.

188. The Poems of Humphrey Gifford, edited by Rev. Alexander B. Grosart, Miscellanies of the Fuller Worthies Library (n.p., 1870), I, 133-4.

189. The Poems and Plays of William Cartwright, edited by G. Blakemore Evans (Madison, 1951), pp.528-30.

190. Thomas Birch, The Life of Henry Prince of Wales (London, 1760), appendix III.

191. GD 75/573 (5).

192. GD 75/573 (7).

193. GD 75/573 (6).

194. GD 75/573 (7).

195. Opera Omnia, II, 396.

196. GD 75/573 (2).

197. GD 75/573 (7).

198. GD 75/573 (5).

199. Opera Omnia, II, 394.

200. Opera Omnia, II, 394.

201. Delitiae Poetarum Gallorum, edited by Jan Gruter, three volumes (Frankfurt, 1609), I.

202. Delitiae Poetarum Gallorum, I.

203. Delitiae Poetarum Gallorum, III.

204. Opera Omnia, II, 393.

205. GD 75/573 (5).

206. Opera Omnia, II, 394.

207. Opera Omnia, II, 395.

208. Opera Omnia, II, 396.

209. Opera Omnia, II, 397.

210. Opera Omnia, II, 375.

CHAPTER FOUR. A Hollow Vessel:

The Poetry of David Hume of Godscroft

The experience of reading and composing Latin verse in one's youth could hardly fail to inform the writings of an adult. Baldwin and Fletcher, working on the assumption that 'the child is father to the man', have seen the later creations of Shakespeare and Milton as rooted in their school and university studies.[1] We would risk suspending the discussion of the previous chapter in a theoretical vacuum without applying it to the work of a reputable and productive Latin poet. We have, in the case of David Hume of Godscroft, a writer who continually returned to the subject and subjects of his youth, both as a source of inspiration and reflection. The quotation from Wordsworth's Prelude is particularly appropriate for the growth of the poet's mind is a central concern of Hume's verse. Hume's early success in verse composition had an important, perhaps ultimately inhibiting influence on his later development, as we shall see. Youthful excellence seems to have been a valued commodity in Renaissance Scotland: The Muses Welcome contains two speeches by nine year olds, one in English by the son of James Semple of Beltries, the other (more surprisingly) in Hebrew by Andrew Ker.[2.]

Given Hume's later prominence as theorist and protagonist in the Presbyterian movement, it is surprising that his poetry, of which there is a considerable quantity, has not received more attention. McCrie and Bradner have cursorily read some of it, Grant has inevitably looked at his bucolic verse,[3] while Williamson has been chiefly concerned with his political significance. However, such is the neglect suffered by Scottish Latin that no individual poet except Buchanan has been subject to detailed analysis.

The failure of historians to look at Hume's poetry in detail has allowed a number of biographical errors to accrue concerning his early life: these may now be removed. The entry in the Dictionary of National Biography is based on the inaccurate guesswork of Chambers,[4] and Robert Wodrow in his manuscript Life can offer no information on his education. In the notes to a series of θρῆνοι on the death of Godscroft's wife, Barbara (who died on 24 June 1629), his son James Hume tells us that they were written at the age of seventy-one.[5] James makes the same observation on his father's θρῆνος , 'quum fama erat venturum Regem in Scotiam ad coronationem'.[6] This would give us 1558 as the year of his birth, and not 1560 as is usually suggested. Having studied under Andrew Symson at Dunbar, whither Symson was transferred in 1564,[7] he entered St. Mary's College probably in 1569. The Acta Facultatis Artium records one David Houme determining in 1571-2 and graduating as M.A. in 1573.[8] Interestingly, the grammarian, Alexander Hume, was a fellow determinant and licentiate. Both were later to be friends and supporters of Andrew Melville. Hume matriculated at an early age, but not uniquely so. As Cant points out, although thirteen was a more regular age for entry, younger students were not unusual.[9] The evidence of the first elegy is that Hume was a precocious youngster and well educated. Furthermore, Hume tells us that he composed a Genethliacum at St. Andrews, to be discussed later, 'adhuc puero inter Philosophiae studia meditatum'.[10] Only an individual matriculating so young could really thus call himself!

It was probably at this time that he received the approbation of Buchanan, referred to in the first elegy.[11] Buchanan was Principal

of St. Leonards (though frequently absent) from 1566 until about 1570. Again Chambers errs in his account of Hume's visit to Europe. Hume returned from France, abandoning the proposed itinerary to Geneva and Italy because of his brother's illness,

> eo prope tempore quo Ismaeus, Liviniae mox dux factus, in Scotiam appulit, nataeque Mortonio aerumnae, primo carcer, deinde caedes et exitium.[12]

Esme Stuart arrived in Scotland on 8 September, 1579 and was created Duke of Lennox on 5 March, 1580.[13] Thus Hume's return was in the autumn of 1579, not the beginning of 1581 as Chambers calculates. Hume reports in De Familia Humia that he went to France for eighteen months ('sesquiannum'), thus dating his departure early in 1578.[14] By 1583 or thereabouts he was in the employ of the Earl of Angus and followed him into exile. Certainly he was in Angus' service at the time of the seizure of Stirling castle in April, 1584 and remained so until the Earl's death in 1588.[15]

In the first elegy of his Lusus Poetici, printed in 1605, Hume looks back affectionately to the days of youthful inspiration: "Quodque fuit primis quondam mihi flumen in annis,/Aruit et rivo pauperiore fluit'.[16] The poem is addressed to his old schoolmaster at Dunbar, Andrew Symson, the celebrated grammarian and a formative influence on the second generation of Presbyterian scholars. It is a tribute to Symson that the poem is prefaced by a dedication to the schoolmaster, some fifteen years or so after his death. David Hume's brother, George, had also been taught by Andrew Symson and his predecessor at Dunbar, William Lamb. In his De Familia Humia Wedderburnensi Liber, David refers to his brother's

achievements (not without some pride) both in prose and verse composition under Symson, 'nobilissimo juventutis doctore et ductore':

> adeoque profecit, summo ipsius ingenio, ut latine apprime scierit; tum soluta oratione, tum pedum legibus adstricta,magna legentium laude scripserit, nec quisquam celeberrima in illa Scotiae tum schola aequare eum putaretur.[17]

Whatever the truth of Hume's claim for George's attainments, we may observe the tendency to see prose and verse as alternate or alternative fields of endeavour. George Hume's death in 1616 was commemorated in verse by his brother printed in the Poemata Omnia of 1639.[18]

It was not, of course, uncommon for writers to dedicate their first or early fruits to the individual that introduced them to the muses, as Milton wrote his fourth elegy to Thomas Young, 'praeceptorem suum'.[19] The tradition goes back at least as far as Ausonius, who wrote a series of epigrams on the Professors of Bordeaux. Hume describes his preceptor's penchant for Latin verse (an interest shared by his sons), and how his own skill paved a way to Symson's heart - a useful weapon in the battleground of the classroom:

> Saepe tibi cum frons nebulis horresceret atris,
> Et quaterent rigidae lenta flagella manus:
> Illa tibi nebulasque atras excussit, et iras:
> Torsit et e rigida lenta flagella manu.
> Sive foret culpae venia exoranda, dabatur
> Illa simul blando solverat ora sono.
> Sive ubi fecere assiduae fastidia Musae;
> Et peperit nimius taedia longa labor:

Iuverat Aoniis subducere colla capistris:

Aonidum tetrico livida colla jugo:

Inque vicem alternas recreari lusibus horas:

Et capere admissis otia grata iocis...[20]

There is the suggestion here, as in the Edinburgh exercises, that verses might ward off punishment or obtain a favour,[21] or again that it provided a welcome alternative to the drudgery of labor improbus. Hume seems to distinguish between the musa that governs the first main verb 'excussit', and the Musae who, with their shackles, govern the rest of the schoolboy's day. This being the case, 'Inque vicem alternas recreari lusibus horas' represents the pattern of alternate prose and verse composition that was in operation in the English schools. Buchanan's first elegy, 'Quam misera fit conditio docentium literas humaniores Lutetiae', had parodied the language of Virgil in narrating the pattern of a school day, and Hume follows his lead.[22] It was after all an appropriate imagery, given the reading matter of the secondary school, as John Leech pointed out:

Aspice Grammaticis quam sors adversa minatur;

Omina principiis quisquis inesse putas.

Iram Maeonides, Lucanus bella minatur,

Fraternas acies Statius, arma Maro...[23]

Hume uses the powerful verbs, quatio, horresco and torqueo, to describe that struggle between master and pupil. The 'lenta flagella' is borrowed from a line in Aeneid VII, 'haec lento mos est aptare flagello'.[24] At first sight, the poem might appear to be less than serious, as parts of it are certainly mock-heroic. When, however, Hume turns to address

Buchanan himself, towards the end of the elegy, his regrets are poignant enough:

> Huc tua spes, Buchanani ergo huc praesagia magni
>
> (Magni, dire licet livor, et ira crepes),
>
> In tenues abiere, ut fumi, evanida ventos?[25]

Hume was not alone in claiming that he had received encouragement and support from the great man - Hercules Rollock and Alexander Yule did the same - but we have little cause to doubt Hume's words. He was still a young man when Buchanan died in 1582. Buchanan may have secured him an early introduction into the Sidney circle. This may well have been before any involvement in politics. Certainly as secretary to the Earl of Angus, whose stay in England after 1584 was paid for by Sidney, he would have occasion to renew those acquaintances.[26] This is one of a number of perplexing problems regarding David Hume's early career that have claimed even Leicester Bradner among their victims.

Much of the confusion stems from a statement made by Robert Chambers in his Biographical Dictionary (and repeated in the Dictionary of National Biography) that Godscroft's first poetical composition was made at the age of fourteen.[27] This composition Chambers wrongly equates with the Daphn-Amaryllis, and Bradner is right to question this identification.[28] The complex of eclogues communally entitled Daphn-Amaryllis were composed by Hume to commemorate Queen Elizabeth, whom the author identifies with Amaryllis, and to celebrate the accession of James, who appears as Daphnis. They could hardly have been written thirty years before. Leicester Bradner instead chooses the Ovidian elegies from the Lusus Poetici, leaving out the first and the last which

he sees as retrospective.[29] But again the opening of the second elegy is hardly consistent with that hypothesis:

> Ille ego, qui pueri, nimium securus amoris,
>
> Contempsi extinctas et sine luce faces:
>
> Quique Cupidineos risi temerarius ignes...[30]

If the overiding theme of the elegies is the emergence from adolescence, they were not composed during that process. Bradner's judgement once more highlights the difficulty of separating youthful Latin composition from mature. When, after all, his models were the work of adults, the competent Neo-Latinist found it relatively easy to strike a pose of world-weary maturity, even in his youth. The solution to this problem lies in the third ecloque of Daphn-Amaryllis, but first we should perhaps give some account of the genesis and construction of this work.

It was long thought that Hume's first published work was the Daphn-Amaryllis printed by Richard Field in 1605. Since Field also printed the Lusus Poetici in the same year, it would be difficult to say which was the earlier. There were in fact two issues of the Daphn-Amaryllis in that year, now numbered 13949 and 13949.5 in the Revised Short Title Catalogue. However the commentary to this work has long lead me to suspect that there was an earlier edition. The Moeris or Daphn-Amaryllidis Pars Tertia, printed by Thomas Finlason in Edinburgh in 1604, was listed in the catalogue of David Laing's library, made for Sotheby's in 1879, and is now in the Folger Library. The editors of RSTC now believe a further Folger fragment, consisting of the first eclogue with a brief dedication to the king and a liminary poem by A.M., also to be from Finlason's press (STC 13948.7 and 13948.3 respectively).

It would appear that the eclogues were printed separately, for Moeris, at least, has its own title page. There is no internal evidence to indicate whether the second and fourth eclogues were also first published in 1604, though we can be reasonably confident that the second must have been. Finlason's titlepage for the Moeris calls it Pars Tertia which suggests the prior release of parts one and two. In the text as we now have it, the second eclogue is linked to the first by the lines, 'Haec Philomela canebat, et haec responderat Echo/Excipiens, calamis quando infit et Alphesiboeus'.[31] But this link may have been provided for the 1605 edition, since 13948.3 gives no indication of the arrival of Alphesiboeus after A.M.'s concluding verses. However in Hume's Poemata Omnia, edited posthumously in 1639, where the 4 eclogues were reprinted under the general title Jacobaea, a footnote tells us: 'Erant hae Eclogae excusae anno 1604, postea Londini anno 1605'.[32]

The first publication of the Daphn-Amaryllis does not appear to have been a particularly happy event either for poet, printer or public, and Hume had a lot of explaining to do when Field reprinted them. In the light of general puzzlement and dissatisfaction, it is perhaps understandable that he over-explained. However the notes and commentary included in the 1605 and (expanded) 1639 editions are an interesting reflection on the reception of this kind of work. They do show that the work was read, a fact that we often do not know and sometimes even doubt, about Neo-Latin verse! They also seem to show that Hume did not personally supervise the Edinburgh printing and the printer's editorial revisions were not always correct.[33]

Firstly there was a printing error to be ironed out. Line 62

should have begun 'Fascine abi', but

> quod cum primo scriptum sic esset, mutavit Typographus
> in (Fascinum) tanquam usitatius, errorem illud ratus;
> ut in prima editione videre est.[34]

This confirms that the Folger text, which reads Fascinum, was that earlier edition. Hume tells us that he had since come across the word in J.C. Scaliger.[35] Presumably his initial impulse for personifying the word and giving it a masculine gender came from Virgil's Catalepton XIII, 20. Finlason emended it to the more usual neuter form, found in Horace and Petronius. On this point we might finally add that James Hume, when he edited his father's works in 1639, three times makes the observation that Godscroft changed his allegiance from Virgil to Horace towards the end of his life.[36]

In addition, the hapless printer seemingly had omitted a number of 'admonitiuncula margini ascripta' from the earlier version. They would have helped to explain the pastoral terminology and method to a confused audience:

> Audivi (Lector) obscura haec visa; et dolui; dolueroque,
> si culpam meam putem. Nunc in vocibus nulla obscuritas,
> ut nec peregrinitas, nec insolentia...[37]

In retrospect it may surprise us, as it did the author, that the first two eclogues, at least, were thought obscure. The word peregrinitas is no doubt significant in this regard, for allegorical pastoral was a genre to which Scotland was not as yet accustomed. Hume had learnt it from his peregrinations in France and from his contacts with Sidney and his circle.[38] He calls the style 'continuam allegoriam', a phrase which

may recall Edmund Spenser's letter to Raleigh on his Faerie Queene: 'being a continued Allegory, or darke conceit'.[39] King James knew enough of the method to object to a veiled insult to his mother in the latter work, but even he probably needed prompting.[40] Only widespread ignorance or unfamiliarity can explain the lengths to which Hume goes in unravelling his meaning in 1605 and the apparent naivety of Andrew Melville's letter to Hume preceding publication:

> Tua Amaryllis, Angla; Daphnis, Scotus: Huius ortum gratularis, illius obitum deflere videris. Hinc Daphn-Amaryllis inscriptio, ingeniose, quod Amaryllis-Daphnis fuisset durius; probo.[41]

There are levels at which Hume's meaning may prove elusive, but this is not one of them. However, Melville's ear was more attuned to the sound and the flow of the verse than its adumbrated meaning. In answer to Hume's request for comment on the first eclogue 'vel de toto, vel de parte aliqua'[42] Melville has little to offer beyond general satisfaction with the pastoral garb and unwillingness to judge on individual points. He gives no opinion on the use of an echo, over which Hume was worrying when he prepared the 1605 edition:

> Illud subvereor, ne Echo ad finem versuum affixa judicium distrahat; ut dum utrique intendis, neutrum attendas.[43]

The introduction of an echo, repeating the final syllable or syllables of the protagonist's lines and thereby creating his own meaning, was not an uncommon feature of pastoral. Sidney had written such a poem for the Arcadia. Hume uses the device both in 'Philomela', the first eclogue, and in the second, 'Alphesiboeus', and recommends that it

should be read before or after the poem. Such advice implies, as is indeed the case, that the echo plays no integral part in the poem, nor do his replies interact with the main narrative. In fact the echo works as a verbal acrostich, providing a subsequent message to that of the eclogue. That the device is not entirely successful is intimated in Hume's explanation of it. The tenuous iambic rhythm that runs through it required a lengthy justification.[44]

Furthermore the author does not trust his audience to follow the advice of the second admonitiunculum: 'Bucolici carminis morem vulgatum adumbrandis rebus advertito'.[45] The 1605 notes explain at length the conventions of the genre; not only is a word like caula glossed as regnum,[46] but the political connotations of lilia and rosae are also drawn out.[47] The implications of the lines 'Quo te fata vocant, quo nobile marmor, & ingens/Auguriis spes, et mentis praesagia verae' perhaps needed to be pointed out to an English audience, where the prophecies of Merlin and the legend of the Stone of Scone may have had less currency.[48] They were well known in Hume's youth, and the latter recalled from Major's History a couplet associated with the Stone.

There was little in 'Philomela' to tax the ingenuity of its readers: the pastoral allegory was transparent and the references to Troy, the Tudor Rose and the Stone of Scone unremarkable. Material in the 'Alphesiboeus' needed more careful glossing, where the shepherd poets of Scotland begin to appear in an allegory that is less than conventional. The second eclogue touches upon Scotland's legendary history, but Hume, implicitly denying his own ability to deal with such a theme, calls for a poet of sufficient talent to sing of it:

Quis canat aeratas acies et robora Martis,
Captivosque duces, injectaque vincula collo
Euphratique Indoque? O viveret Agrius! aut tu
Mellee, sume tubas, magnumque inferre per orbem
Incipe Fergusidum deductam ab origine gentem.[49]

In a marginal note Hume indicates that Agrius and Melee are Buchanan and Melville, 'Poetarum Princeps' and 'Proximus a Principe' respectively.[50] Both had contributed to the subject, Buchanan in his Historia and Melville in 'Gathelus',[51] but the great poem remained unwritten, and was to remain so. The nearest that Scotland's poetic community got to that grand theme was John Johnston's Reges Scotorum, a resumé of the history in epigrams, where the 'Gathelus' was first printed. But a sequence of epigrams could never achieve the grand sweep of epic. Moreover Melville's contribution was fragmentary and uncertain. He had lost confidence in the theme, and in his own commitment to extended composition, even if Hume had not. Pessimistically, Melville had written to Hume reassuring him about the reception of the first eclogue, 'presertim hoc securo saeculo, et obsolescentibus musis'.[52] The legacy of Buchanan was a heavy one.

The third eclogue, Moeris sive Officium is the longest and the most involved. Its theme is the court bravely singing in the face of the departure of its own Apollo, or king of poets. It will not have escaped the reader that this subject tacitly reflects the previous theme, that of the Scottish latinists deserted by their 'Princeps Poetarum'. Moeris, representing Hume himself, is persuaded by Lycidas to add his voice to the chorus of those eulogising the king, who appears as Daphnis.

As the names of the participants may indicate, Hume's eclogues, like many of the period, actively engage with their model, the Bucolics of Virgil, and must be read in conjunction with that work. Much could be implied through the connection with Virgil, without the need to express it in the later text, a game that Milton was later to play with Ovid's Tristia.[53] In Eclogue VIII, Alphesiboeus, deserted by Daphnis, had used his poems to induce his return. At no point in Hume's poems does the writer make such a request, but behind the veil of a bucolic war of affection, Scotland struggles for her sovereign's love. In the final eclogue, Meliboeus sive Unio, she comes close to despair:

> Spargite agris cineres, totamque inspergite Iernam,
> Et moly, et coeli sacros aspergite rores:
> Toxica ne Lybiae nobis, Circesve, Stygisve
> Officiant: cunctis mors haec eat ora venenis.[54]

The belated compromise introduced by Meliboeus is more wished for than achieved:

> Termine cede: quid hic ageres? communia cernis
> Pascua. Nulla suos Phyllis discriminat agros,
> Nulla suos Amaryllis. Et hoc agnoscit et illos,
> Utraque nec proprios discernere curat alumnos.[55]

Lycidas and Moeris are the two speakers in Eclogue IX, the most personal of the sequence. The theme of the poem is loss, both of an estate (and the loss of integrity and confidence which that involves), and of Moeris' own creativity. Three lines in particular recall the complaint of Humæ's elegies:

> Omnia fert aetas, animum quoque; saepe ego longos

Cantando puerum memini me candere soles:

Nunc oblita mihi tot carmina...[56]

Nor would the significance of Virgil's concluding verse be lost on Hume's audience: 'Carmina tum melius, cum venerit ipse, canamus'.[57]

Hume returns to this theme in his third eclogue. Firstly (and this is no uncommon claim in the Scotland of James VI), there is the difficulty of matching the king's own achievements in verse. 'Magne puer', writes Hume, 'tu das unus te carmina digna'.[58] Not surprisingly then, he appended to the 1604 edition a Latin version of the King's sonnet 'The nations banded gainst the Lord of might', and of complementary verses on the 'Lepanto' by William Fowler.[59] Moeris submits that Lycidas might compose poetry worthy of their subject:

At tibi Pan calamos dedit, atque inflare cicutas

Calliope: multusque implevit pectus Apollo:

Solo digna canas qui Daphnide carmina, solus

Incipe; et ingentem cantu fer ad aethera Daphnim.[60]

But, as the commentary puts it, 'cantum tamen suum in aliud tempus differens, Moerin ad canendum hortatur'.[61] It may be that Andrew Melville is again implied in the portrayal of Lycidas. Melville had achieved notable success with his Στεφανίσκιον of 1590 and the Principis Scoto-Britannorum Natalia on the birth of Prince Henry.[62] Since that time he had been significantly silent on royal occasions. If he had been planning some celebration of the accession, it may have been waiting upon some kind of reconciliation with the King. In a letter associated with the publication of Moeris, Melville had looked to Hume to influence matters in London:

Si res nostrae, aut fortuna, aut fama periclitatur in

Aula, te moestis praesidium reis, te patronum imploramus,

? et expectamus.[63]

This being so, we would expect Hume to have mentioned his friend in the notes to the poem, as he had in 'Alphesiboeus', if such a reference had been appropriate. Hume seems to have been no more successful as intermediary than in his efforts to persuade his colleague to join the celebrations.

If Melville was unwilling to sing of the union and the king's achievements, there were others who were:

Lac Meliboeus, et haec mulctralia, Tityrus agnum,

Ocnus agrum tulit: haud frustra tot, docte Menalca,

Carmina fusa tibi: late nemus omne resultat

Laetitia...

Atque aliquis longo veniens de stemmate regum

Regem te, Rex ipse canit. Non saxa silebunt,

Saxa vel Aoniis jam nunc certantia Musis,

Formosumque ipsum, formosam et dicere caulam.[64]

A marginal note, later expanded, comes to our aid in deciphering two of these references. Rex is identified as Adam King, whose In Iacobum Sextum Panegyris was published at Edinburgh in 1603.[65] In the same year were printed the Paraeneticon and Στεφανοφορία of Thomas Craig, identified as Saxum.[66] It is difficult to know how far we may legitimately press for specific references in the other names, though the poet probably had some in mind. Meliboeus is almost certainly Melville, for which identification there is some supportive evidence. There is, of course,

the similarity of sound and an implicit pun linking lac with mel - the honey in Melville's name was often remarked upon. Again, it would be appropriate that Hume's poetical mentor, who gave encouragement to his early essays in verse, should be seen as providing such nourishment. Critically, in his first letter on the Moeris, Melville calls himself Maelibaeus.[67] In a letter to his nephew, James, of 1611, printed by McCrie, Andrew Melville adopts pastoral nicknames for a number of his fellow Presbyterians.[68] James Carmichael of Haddington is called Corydon, while Menalcas of Cupar on the Eden and Damoetas of Elie are identified by McCrie as the ministers, William Scot and John Carmichael. Of course, pastors of the church had long been seen as shepherds of their flocks, and it is very doubtful that Melville had in mind any fixed system of identification. The letter goes on to refer to 'our friend Godscroft' and it could be that he was reminded of the latter's allegory. The reference to the poems of Menalcas would preclude the minister of Cupar from being the shepherd in the third eclogue, and I would suggest that the compliment is intended for Melville's colleague at St. Mary's, John Johnston. The latter had published two sequences of epigrams which happily coincided with the succession, and were well received both at court and in his own circle:

> Etsi mihi perpetua lucta est cum invaletudine, tamen edidi Poetica quaedam, faetus adolescentis ingenii, qui D. Melvino et doctis plurimum probari visi sunt; nimirum Inscriptiones Regias a conditu Regni ad nostra tempora, quae augusto Serenissimo nostri Regis judicio probari etiam meruerunt.[69]

Of the other two shepherds, who, according to the allegory, did not

contribute poetry, we may risk no identification.

Finally, Hume himself arrives, framed in the barren landscape of the north:

> Hic quoque te antra sonant: hic te Celiovedus antris
> Inspirat, doctae respondent omnia sylvae.
> Illum ad convalles, praeruptaque saxa frutetis
> Horrida, et inculto nigrantia culmina musco
> Mulcentem montes, et conscia flumina vidi.[70]

The lines recall a verse on the titlepage of the Finlason edition: 'Iam Neque Saxa Silent'. His pseudonym is culled from the Hebrew of Psalm xxxi v.12 'I am like a broken vessel', and we recognize, as in the persona of Moeris, a return to the theme of the poet bereft, not of inspiration, (what more inspring theme could there be than the King?), but of voice. Hume makes personal an overriding concern of the Presbyterian writers of the generation after Buchanan, 'hoc securo saeculo, et obsolescentibus musis', as Melville puts it. Harold Bloom had alerted us to this facet of the poetry of Milton and the Romantics: the necessity of killing one's poetic father, (Shakespeare and Spenser), in order to create anew.[71] It is a convenient, if deliberately provocative, means of describing the movement of literary history, and deserves to be tried out on Renaissance poetics. When such an emotion is aligned with a poetics heavily reliant upon retractation, the result could be the impasse implicit in Hume's position.

As in the poem addressed to Andrew Symson, David Hume wistfully looks back to his adolescent achievements in verse:

O mihi si priscus redeat sub pectora Phoebus,

Qualis erat cum me bis septima clauderet aestas!

Iam primas poteram labris inflare cicutas:

Iam teneras audente manu contingere lauros.[72]

This clearly is the source of Chambers' remark that Godscroft's first verse was written at the age of fourteen. In the light of Hume's poetic practice such a lament is self-explanatory, but in a postscript to the 1604 edition (and subsequently reprinted in 1605 and 1639), he adds a further explication:

> Ut melius intelligantur quae supra dicta sunt de carminibus jam pridem compositis, haud erit fortasse ineptum, eorum nonulla [sic], quae qualiacumque supersunt, hic adjungere.[73]

Curiously, no verses appear at this point, but we cannot be sure that Hume intended to include any here. The sentence may simply provide a link between the poem and what follows. Hume continues:

> Et Genethliacum quidem Andraeopoli adhuc puero inter Philosophiae studia meditatum totum jam excidit: praeter pauculos hos versus, quibus nativitatis tempus describi caeptum est: qui huic Eglogae inserti, uno dempto versu et et paucis vocibus mutatis. Ea sic erant.

The lines that follow, describing the time of the King's birth (June, 1566), are headed 'Tempora', but that noun must be incorporated into the text of the poem:

Quae geminis tenuere vagum faelicia solem

At postquam auricomus sublimi vertice Titan

Altius egit iter; Geminisque ad terga relictis

Aurea candenti subiecit lumina Cancro:

Protenus Aeoleis Boreas occluditur antris

Assurguntque novo submissi murmure venti.

Royal genethliaca for 1566 were composed by three of Scotland's major Latin writers, Buchanan, Patrick Adamson and Thomas Craig, but the young David Hume is not indebted to any of them for his astrological theme.[74] These lines were incorporated, with minor alterations, into the third eclogue:

Quo tu magne puer caelo es? quo sydere natus?

An regnanda tibi dederant maria omnia Pisces?

An Taure indulsisti almos Telluris honores?

An, postquam auricomus sublimi vertice Titan

Altius egit iter; Geminisque ad terga relictis

Aurea candenti subiecit lumina Cancro:

Cum ferus Aeoleis Boreas occluditur antris:

Cum novus aspirat lenito murmure ventus:

Tum potius medio te Sol altissimus orbe

Extulerit rebus Dominum; aequora, supra

Aethera; et invictum caelo decus addidit alto?

Hinc omen dat et arma polo, LEO. Cedite Pardi,

Liliaque, et LYRA: nec magnum temerate LEONEM.[75]

The passage bears some similarity to lines in the Phaenomena of Aratus:

Κρατὶ δέ οἱ Δίδυμοι, μεσόῃ δ' ὕπο Καρκίνος ἐστίν·
ποσσὶ δ' ὀπισθοτέροισι Λέων ὕπο κολλὰ φαείνει.

Ἔνθα μεν ἠελίοιο θερείπται εἰσι κελευθοι·
αἱ δέ που ἀσταχυων κεναὶ φαινονται ἄρουραι
ἠελίου ταπρῶτα συνερχομενοιο Λέοντι.
Τῆμος καὶ κελάδουτες ἐτησίαι εὐρέι πόντῳ
ἀθρόοι ἐμπίπτουσιν...[76]

Aratus; as James Melville informs us, was taught at St. Andrews at this time.[77] Hume's earlier version, however, is too general and the theme too common for us to legitimately call this a source. There are a number of similar descriptions of the passage of the sun through the constellations in the Roman writers, particularly Cicero's De Natura Deorum, Lucan and throughout the Fasti of Ovid. The Etesian or tradewinds of Aratus are not Hume's 'ferus Boreas'. There are also similarities with descriptions of the zodiac in Book III of Buchanan's Sphaera upon which Buchanan may well have been engaged at this time, but again it seems unlikely that a puer would have been permitted a glimpse at this magnum opus which Andrew Melville was eagerly awaiting in 1572.

The poet concentrates not on the constellation actually in the ascendant whose power is waning but on the rising sign, Leo, which becomes of central significance and the point at which astrological symbolism is transformed into heraldic. It is of course the lion of Scotland, a conventional image both of the Scottish nation and her King. Similarly Lyra, capitalized in the text, represents both the heavenly constellation and the Irish harp or clairseach. Pardi and lilia too are conventional heraldic devises. Hume's readers would recognise them as the heraldic components of the Tudor royal arms: the leopards of England and the fleur-de-lys of France. Thus the poem reflects James' reconstruction of the royal arms of England to include the symbols of Scotland and Ireland. Naturally, Hume, as a Scot, sees the lion of Scotland as dominant among them.

Royal genethliaca, particularly those for the Stewarts, frequently contained a prophetic element. By updating and reassessing his genethliacum, Hume, gives himself the benefit of hindsight from which to read the King's zodiacal birth-chart as a prefigurement of his accession to the English throne. But the lions destiny remains only partially fulfilled and, in words that he will later develop, Hume hints at a future role. By extending the sequence of constellations beyond the sign of the King's nativity, (he was born on 24 June, under Cancer), Hume has integrated the passage into the wider heraldic scheme of the Jacobaea, with its martial overtones:

> Quae te celsa manet sublimi gloria cultu
> Daphni decus rerum! Caeli cui vertice summo
> Aligerumque acies, astrorum et militat ordo:
> Dum patriae ingentem prisca virtute Leonem
> Indomitis infers populis...[78]

But again, there is the secondary matter of Hume's own contribution. Proudly he can sing again his youthful verse: 'Et modo quae puero quondam cantata canebat:/Et modo purpureum renovarat arundine carmen', and weave it into his narrative.[79] Yet his self-consciousness is such that such an act testifies to a present failure of nerve, to the drying up of the source.

In the notes to the Moeris, we are introduced to a further fragment, part of a yet more complicated story:

> Et huic quoque sequenti, paucos post annos inchoato,
> nonnulla exciderunt: alia perfecta non sunt, variis
> distracto negotiis animo.[80]

There follow sixty-four lines and a handful of 'alia non perfecta' in the unusual combination of hexameter and Sapphic hendecasyllable. Hume omitted from Field's edition the explanation of his failure to complete or re-edit the poem.[81] Perhaps he wished to avoid the implication that other business could be considered more pressing than the completion of his compliment to

the King. Tha nature of those 'variis negotiis', which included working for the exiled Presbyterians, would not have recommended him to James.

Hume must have found time soon after the publication of the 1604 edition to return to the work, for it reappears in the Lusus Poetici of 1605, reorganised into an eighty-two line poem, entitled 'De Iacobo VI, Rege, adhuc puero, Expectatio'.[82] The title helps to date the poem between circa 1575 ('paucos post annos inchoato') and 1579, after which the King, having taken the reins of government, could hardly be designated puer.

As he confesses in the footnotes, Hume has consciously borrowed from the earlier poem in the retrospective third elegy. One sequence in particular deserves comparison. The 'Expectatio' describes, near its conclusion, a new fertility consequent upon the King's accession and rule:

> Maenala Laenaeus pater, et vineta Timoli
> Linquet, et sacri juga celsa montis:
> Pampineasque tuos in colles transferet uvas.
> Proque Pactoli nitidis arenis
> Auriferoque Hermo, Crafordia dives avaros
> Incolas fulvo saturabit auro.
> Hic ver perpetuum, depicti et floribus agri.
> Liliis constans decus hic rosisque (my italics).[83]

The fragmentary text breaks off at 'auro', the last couplet being supplied from the 'Expectatio' of 1605.[84] Here the traditional repertoire of images of plenty are supplemented by specific references to Scotland's own mineral wealth, therby nationalising the conceit. By returning to this theme in 1605, Hume clearly wishes to make a case for an equality of partners in the new union. If England had been seen traditionally as the richer of the two kingdoms, the natural resources of Scotland should not be overlooked. In the Moeris he extends the idea and offers a direct challenge to those traditional repositories of wealth, the auriferous rivers, Tagus, Indus and

Pindarus, now called Ceyhan in Turkey.

Tum canit et gemmas properantem mittere Tethan,
Bodotriaeque sinus, et piscosa ostia Glottae;
Et ver perpetuum Nessi, densataque nullis
Flumina frigoribus. Mox ut Crafordia venas
Spondeat auriferas: Tagus invidet; et stupet Indus.
Aemule, quid croceos agnorum Pindare dentes
Illinis? alliciens. Non curat talia Daphnis (my italics).[85]

The later poem reworks elements from the passage quoted above, together with a line from the uncompleted part of the poem ('Nonne vides ut nunc brumali frigore Nessus/Pertinax, duram glaciem recuset')[86] and the traditional description of mineral wealth at the outset, which, as we have seen, itself undergoes the process of retractation within the same poem:

Lydius auriferas volvat Pactolus arenas;
Aemulis currat vagus Hermus undis:
Arvaque purpureis pulset rutilantia glebis
Qua vehit fulvum Tagus amnis aurum...[87]

We have now seen enough of Hume's Latin verse to recognise certain structural characteristics, evident even in his earlier writings. He has frequent recourse to a cluster of themes or images surrounding the accumulation of riches. The theme of the 'ver perpetuum' or benign Saturnian rule tends to merge with the traditional images of mineral wealth, the river Tagus and the Lydian sands. This system of ancient geography, real and fabulous, neatly interlocks with a national geography, equally real or romantic, expressed in terms of the Scottish rivers. This was by far the commonest means of describing and dividing the country, evident in the work of many of the Scottish Latinists, from Henry Anderson of Perth to Wedderburn of Aberdeen. As such, it is a ubiquitous Renaissance device, not confined to Scotland. If she is not seen as a confluence of rivers, Scotland is described

by Hume as a series of rocky outcrops:

Illum ad convalles; praeruptaque saxa frutetis
Horrida; et inculto nigrantia culmina musco
Mulcentem montes, et conscia flumina vidi.[88]

In the central section of the Expectatio, worth quoting in full, the whole sequence is repeated:

Ipse feret, quae sit gemma speciosior Inda
Fortha, reflexis sinuosus undis:
Et qui caeca rapit canis undantia Lymphis
Saxa, contorto violentus amni
Tetha, licet properet saevo velocior Euro,
Et fremat raucum, strepituque cautes
Pulset inaccessas, tamen haud mutare recuset
Saxa flammatis salebrosa gemmis.
Mella Caledoniae sudabunt roscida quercus:
Thura manabunt tribulis, ruboque;
Pendebit potior Campanis uva racemis:
Agna per valles ad amaena Tuedae
Flumina, Sydonios pascetur amicta colores...[89]

What distinguishes Hume's handling of what was almost an instinctive progression of ideas, in individual instances, is the value placed upon the constituent parts. We may notice Godscroft's ambiguous attitude towards the Lowlands, as we have earlier observed in Aselcanus .[90] One hesitates to press too far a system based on binary oppositions, but such a structural analysis is a not inappropriate method of dealing with Hume's verse in this instance. Juxtaposed with the images of foreign excess, the produce of the Forth, or 'Bodotriae sinus', has a positive value, contributing to the picture of national plenty. Elsewhere, in the 'Aselcanus', it has a more threatening aspect, contrasted with the wider aspects of the north. Within

this shifting scale of values, the echoing caves and rocks of Hume's northern landscape stand in an ambiguous position, as does Celiovedus himself, both a part of, and apart from, the cultural values of the south. The King's ultimate accolade is to have brought his perpetual spring to the frozen Ness, and to have elicited song from the barren rocks, deep in 'inculto...musco'.

In the third eclogue, Hume twists the conceit a stage further.

> Non curat talia Dapnis.
>
> Daphnis in aethereos animo penetrare recessus
>
> Ausus, et immensum pedibus subjecit Olympum.[91]

Hume's implied model here is Virgil's fifth eclogue, in which two shepherds tell of the death of another Daphnis. Mopsus' song is an exercise in pathetic fallacy, the effect of loss on the sublunary pastoral world. This essentially unproductive (because unfulfilled) image is replaced by Menalcas' vision of the apotheosis of the shepherd:

> Candidus insuetum miratur limen Olympi
>
> Sub pedibusque videt nubes et sidera Daphnis.[92]

By the time of Servius, Virgil's poem was thought to be a lament for Julius Caesar.[93] Hume's choice of name is no accident, for this latter day Daphnis is also potentially dead, as far as Scotland is concerned. The poet would not dare to express such an opinion, and the theme is circuitously whispered through the Virgilian source and the conceit of poetry. What Hume is ostensibly saying is that James is no longer concerned with the songs of a previous generation:

> Quamvis Aegle illud, quamvis insaniat Alcon·
>
> Quamvis miremur pueri. Peritura morantur
>
> Terrenas animas: Te iam caelestis origo
>
> Vendicat: et solis dignatur Iuppiter astris.[94]

There are now more pressing concerns to merit his attention. However, the issue becomes one of national preference twenty lines later, when Hume imagines other 'nymphs' competing for his attention:

Hinc conjugiis Nymphaeque, Deaeque,
Certant sollicitare suis. Amarylli, relicta
Pulchrior es quantum tu Phyllide: Deiopeia
Tam tibi se praefert; tam se Galateia capillos
Auro crispatos Indo. Quanti illa superbit
Dives agri! Bacchumque in dotem, atque addit Olivam,
Aemulaque Hesperidum fragrantia cortice mala.[95]

This passage is a subtle reworking of the opening of the Expectatio, which helps to disentangle the allegory:

Anglia lanigerumque greges, armentaque dives,
Et suas iactet temulenta vites.
Gallia; Campano certetque aequare falerno
Vasconum si quae rubet uva campis[96]

In the earlier poem Hume was content simply to catalogue the earth's riches, nation by nation, beginning with England, France and Spain. At the end Scotland, illuminated by her new sovereign, is revealed to surpass them all in mineral and vegetable wealth. In Moeris the nations of Europe are veiled in an allegory, each seeking the love of Daphnis. Reference to 'Auro...Indo' suggests the identification of Galateia with Spain, with whom James began negotiations for peace soon after his accession. Phyllis or Scotland is left behind, though Hume protests that her love is in no way diminished. However, the importance of the passage is less the particular identifications of the allegory than Hume's expression of concern that the King's international diplomacy might distract his attention from Scotland.

Godscroft then, has constructed his third eclogue out of both new and old materials, thus causing Chambers' confusion over the date of composition. He was certainly not the first Renaissance poet to reconstitute old material, but by drawing attention to those earlier sources he is able to gain a further level of meaning by juxtaposition of the two. For such a device, the

Virgilian bucolic, which had traditionally contained a poetical agon and fragments of songs in different voices, was an ideal form. (There is, of course, a third level at which Hume is drawing upon former themes and devices instinctively because they are a part of his creative process, a residue of compositional techniques practised at school and university.) By these means he undertakes an examination of his own creativity, and its relationship to the changing circumstances around him. He is both proud of his earlier achievements and distrustful of them. This is what I sang once, he laments, and can no longer. The implication is, I think, that not all the blame is attributed to the poet - Daphnis himself has changed. What was expectatio in the 1570s is now barely relevant, and borders on nostalgia. Hume avows his intention to sing once more of the King ('Quo me Daphni vocas?'), but the direction of that poetrical impulse is uncertain. That disorientation reflected the state of the nation.

David Hume did continue to write royal poetry, and it is worthwhile pursuing his creative development a little further. When James returned to Scotland fifteen years later, Hume contributed a number of poems to the celebrations. These are to be found in The Muses Welcome (although Hart issued some of them in a separate publication) in two groups: those welcoming the King to Dunglass at the beginning of the visit, and a second group heralding his birthday from Edinburgh.

It is impossible here to treat fully the longest of these poems, a hexameter Gratulatio of over 150 lines. The poem ranges widely over matters of the King's ancestry, (dwelling on the by now celebrated story of Banquo and Fleance), and the themeof trans-national Protestant militancy. However, two passages stem directly from topoi we have already been considering. The work begins with a celebration of James' arrival. Although not a pastoral poem, those traditional features of the Scottish landscape rise up to salute their sovereign:

Tu flumina nostra,

Te liquidi fontes, et tristi murmure sylvae,

Et riguae lacrymis valles, nemorosaque montes

Culmina, te moestis suspiravere cavernis

Tot lustra. At jam Tueda pater, jam flumine Fortha

Excipit, et montes Lomundi....[97]

A few lines later, the same incident undergoes retractation:

Iam flumina nostra,

Iam liquidi fontes, et laeto carmine sylvae,

Et resonae cantu valles, nemorosaque montes

Culmina jam laetos tollunt ad sydera plausus.[98]

It is the King's return of course that reverses the direction of the pathetic fallacy. The land that mourned her loss now rises to salute his return. It is Scotland herself who speaks the lines, but Hume's distinctive voice is hardly disguised - this is his landscape. Again, after the initial burst of enthusiasm, he is searching for the vatic voice of a previous generation:

O si magnorum prisco quos tempore vatum

Te dignos enixa fui, nunc afforet ullus;

Aptis aequaret numeris qui grandia rerum,

Grandia qui dulci molliret carmina melle;

Quas grates, quae vota tibi, quo carmine laudes

Cantarent meritas! Nunc tecum in proxima regna

Quum tuleris Musas...[99]

Should the word-play of the fourth line have left us in any doubt, two footnotes in the Iacobaea make it clear that it is to Andrew Melville that Hume is referring.[100] At last Hume is making the plea for his friend's rehabilitation in print, which Melville had requested in a letter of 1604.

Si res nostrae, aut fortuna, aut fama periclitatur in

Aula, te moestis praesidium reis, te patronum imploramus,

et expectamus.[101]

Notwithstanding the topical nature of the claim, the lament is expressed in a theme which Hume had voiced years before, that of Scotland bereft of her great poets. As was implied in the conjunction of them in the 'Alphesiboeus', Melville has joined Buchanan as an ancestral voice. Again what Scotland requires of her writers is one to sing of 'grandia rerum', the great poem of the royal descent from Fergus to the Stewarts. Yet Hume's complaint that James 'had taken the muses into the next kingdom' was not unfounded. Latin poets like Robert Ayton who also wrote in English and others like William Alexander and David Murray who composed exclusively in the vernacular found richer pickings in the south. The King too, whose poetry influenced many within and outside the court, including Hume himself, was gone. Also gone was the generation of poets such as Craig and King whose voices were heard in the Moeris of 1605.

Hume contributed two epigrams to the celebrations for James' fifty-first birthday, held at Edinburgh Castle a few days prematurely. The first, De Regis Natalibus, interweaves a series of puns on the words Mensis and Iunius. In the second, an elegiac poem of twenty-two lines, Hume returns to his well practised astrological theme:

Non tibi dant, quamvis humentia sidera, Pisces
Oceani haec regnis subdita regna tuis.
Non tibi dat Taurus tantos telluris honores:
Exigua est animo terra, cinisque tuo.
At neque tam dulces Geminorum fidus amores,
Dulciaque e casto pignora chara toro.
Clara sed ardenti cum subdit lumina Cancro,
Cum scandit summi culmina summa poli,
Te maria et terras supra, supra aethera, celsum
Extulit,et coeli Phoebus in arce locat.

Caelestemque dedit mentem, caelestia regna
Spirantem, et solo pectora plena polo:
Atque polo vera arma, sequentem ferre Leonem,
Magna quidem, et magni conscia signa Dei. [102]

It hardly needs to be pointed out how much of this material has been re-constituted from the two earlier versions of the same astrological theme, the 'Tempora' of the 1570s and the third eclogue of 1605. Thus over forty years after he first wrote on the subject, David Hume continues to draw upon the same matter. Indeed there are a number of direct borrowings or reminiscences of the earlier poems: 'subdit lumina Cancro' reminds us of 'subiecit lumina Cancro', as does 'culmina summa' of 'sublimi vertice' from the juvenile 'Tempora'. In the Moeris Hume had given the description of the royal birth military implications with the ominous phrase 'Hinc omen dat et arma polo', perhaps hinting at a Protestant crusade in Europe lead by James. Twelve years later, that belief is still reflected in 'Atque polo vera arma' and the 1617 epigram can again be read as a retractatio of the previous poem.

There is a further refinement, introduced in the Moeris and not present in the fragment, which is developed here. Hume has been selective in his astrological description, both in his choice of epithets and of signs, in order to illustrate the sequence as a progression through the four sublunary elements. Pisces is identified as 'humentia sidera'; Taurus possesses the honours 'telluris'; Cancer is described as 'ardenti' or 'candenti' in the Moeris. It seems likely that we must read Gemini as Air -it was traditionally an Air sign- and see James as transported above all four, thereby

rejecting the sublunary elements. Indeed the description of Daphnis from the Moeris with mind set on heaven, contemptuous of earthly wealth, is drawn within the scheme:

> Nil tellus cernit, nil coelum angustius illo,
> Nil illo totus dignius orbis habet.
> Quid flores; quid adhuc animantia caetera spectes?
> Cedite, nec magnum sollicitare animum.[103]

Even the reference to the north wind, retained in the Moeris in spite of being more relevant to the meteorological framework of the 'Tempora' than to the elemental symbolism of the 1604 poem, is felt in 'spirantem' of the 1617 verses.

Hume's imagery has become increasingly emblematic. Leo, an image of crusading zeal and militant British Protestantism, borrowed from the Moeris, receives renewed emphasis, with the sanction of a vengeful God:

> Atque polo vera arma, sequentem ferre Leonem,
> Magna quidem, et magni conscia signa Dei.
> Quae Iehuda et Iehudae victrix victricia proles
> Vendicat imperiis omina certa suis.[104]

Now the lion of Scotland is also identified as lion of Judah. But as James became increasingly identified as 'Rex Pacificus' and a reluctant crusader for a Protestant uprising in Europe, attention naturally concentrated on his sons. First Henry and, after his death, Charles, were conceived as potential figureheads of such a movement. Although Godscroft cannot enlarge upon his vision, the 'proles Iehudae' is now given equal emphasis and, their destiny is seen as 'certa'. His stress on fate's inevitable course seems to have increased as the actuality of his political vision faded. He was not alone in this.

The biblical reference alerts us to the introduction of a further theme, contiguous to Hume's poem rather than integral to it; that of the fall of earthly empires according to Protestant readings of Revelations. Such a

pattern is suggested in the reference to 'subdita regna' in line 2 and 'imperiis' in line 16. The message of 'hinc omen dat et arma polo' now receives the additional stress of this apocalyptic reading.

Hume has 'turned' the passage from hexameters to elegiacs and, in doing so, lost much of the vitality, for he is no great handler of the couplet form. His pentameters, adopting the pattern of the original 'auricomus sublimi vertice Titan' repetitively fall into this chiastic trap. Furthermore, by comparing the 1604 and 1617 versions, we can see that the poet has converted the material simply by expanding the individual hexameters into couplets. In his struggle to find metaphorical significance in the appearance of Gemini, Hume has lost the impact and sense of movement of 'geminisque ad terga relictis'. Indeed, it is not easy to ascertain quite what Hume (or James) is rejecting in this third couplet. In opting for the balance and thematic repetition of the elegiac couplet, Hume has anaesthetized the poetry.

When James returned to Scotland in the summer of 1617, David Hume was in his sixtieth year. Two epigrams attached to Regi Suo...Gratulatio but missing from The Muses Welcome show the writer to be anticipating his death and observing the events sub specie mortalitatis.[105] Whether such a premonition, which in fact was erroneous, was induced by personal ill health or simply the arrival of old age, it was undoubtedly reinforced by Hume's assessment of his own poetic career, the fitting conclusion whereof was to welcome his King back to Scotland:

> Prima ubi pacatas duxit gens Humia turmas,
> Crevit ubi exemplis Unio Prima piis,
> Idem inter Primos tantae natalia famae,
> Et cecini vitae limina Prima tuae:
> (Ipse licet Primis tunc vixdum egressus ab annis)
> Et prima auspiciis sceptra Britanna tuis.
> Ultimus edo tamen, seu sors ea, seu fuit omen,
> Et nimium genio fata sinistra meo...[106]

In the second poem, 'Difficilis Exhibitio', Hume draws a closer parallel between his own life as a poet and that of the King, again recalling the Genethliacum written at St. Andrews:

> Sic, tibi quae quondam puero, puer ipse, Iuventa
> Quae prima, media, virque, senexque cano.
> Sterlini, Edini, Londini ad moenia magni,
> Anglia quando aditu, Scotia quando abitu
> Indoluit...
> Haec mihi, adhuc vivo, mentem testantia: functo
> Haec eadem mentis sint monumenta meae.[107]

The key to these lines, as it is too much poetic autobiography in the Renaissance, is the quatrain traditionally prefixed to the Aeneid, beginning 'Ille ego...' There are two echoes of the lines: 'quae quondam' recalls 'qui quondam' of the Virgilian passage, while the first poem uses the participle egressus in temporal terms as Virgil (if the lines are by Virgil) used it spacially ('egressus sylvis'). There is nothing surprising about the influence of the Virgilian paradigm of a poet's career, and the verses summarizing it, upon a Renaissance poet, for many a writer (Spenser, for example) followed its pattern or echoed the lines.[108] What makes Hume's use of the theme more interesting is that he saw his poetic career interacting with that of James. Having saluted the King's birth, almost as a coeval, is crucial in this regard, and the parallelism is underlined by the repetition of Prima/Primis in the first poem, and puer in the second. We have already discussed some of the ways in which that relationship is questioned and reassessed in the Moeris. By 1617 the entire pattern is seen retrospectively, but the parallel remains.

No doubt to his surprise, David Hume lived to see the King's death. Having celebrated so many incidents in the King's life, it was inevitable that he should commemorate its conclusion. The poem 'Ad...Iacobum vita functum' (the same participle used of himself in 'Difficilis Exhibitio') is not complete, for there is a gap at the beginning of the eighth line, but it begins:

Ille ego, quem patriae fatis felicibus olim,

Vaticini cecinere patres, tanto ore, superbo

Venturum imperio...[109]

Here again is the Virgilian pattern, this time inverted. If the above is a case of 'poetry as career', Hume's summary of the King's life is 'career as poetry'.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF DAVID HUME'S LATIN VERSE

It would be useful to itemize Hume's poetical output. STC numbers are taken from the unpublished first volume (A-H) of the Revised Short-Title Catalogue. I am grateful to Paul Morgan at the Bodleian Library for permission to consult the provisional draft. Works printed abroad are numbered according to Shaaber's Check-List. Subsequent references to Hume's poems will be restricted to the earliest printing, since, as is evident from the catalogue below, some were printed three or even four times. Page references to those included in the Delitiae are also given, being perhaps the most accessible text.

Full bibliographical details of secondary works of reference, cited here, will be found in the bibliography.

No liminary verses by Hume have been discovered, either by Williams or myself, in the works of others. However, it is unlikely that Godscroft never submitted any. Poemata Omnia contains a number of epigrams that may have been intended as complimentary verses. There are three poems on John Skene's Regiam Maiestatem (Edinburgh, 1609), a work which contains many poetic tributes by Scots. Indeed a poem by James Carmichael in that work may have been influenced by Hume's earlier writing (see above, pp.223-4). There are other epigrams on the tragedies of William Alexander and on the Idaea of Thomas Rose (London, 1608).

Notes and Bibliography of David Hume's verse

1. STC 21101. Vitae et Mortis D.R. Rolloci Narratio (Edinburgh, 1599), concludes with a collection of poetic tributes by colleagues, friends and students of the Edinburgh Principal. Two epigrams by David Hume on sig. C6r constitute Godscroft's earliest printed verse. Williams incorrectly assumes them to be work of the David Hume who graduated from Edinburgh in 1588. The correct attribution is proved by their

appearance on sig. M1r of Poemata Omnia (Paris, 1639). A third epigram is contained among the manuscript tributes to Rollock attached to the Latin life by Henry Charteris, printed for the Bannatyne Club (Edinburgh, 1826) and reprinted (without the verse) for the Wodrow Society (Edinburgh, 1849).

2. STC 13948.3. Daphn-Amaryllis. First eclogue (Edinburgh?, 1604?)

Three leaves consisting of a dedication to James I, the poem (later called 'Philomela') and complimentary verses by A.M. The eclogue is printed with minor alterations, explanatory notes and a concluding 'Chorus Animalium' in Daphn-Amaryllis (London, 1605), sigs. A4-B4r, Iacobaea (Paris, 1639), sigs B1-C1 and Delitiae,I, 418-420. The Delitiae version omits the final 'Chorus'. The complimentary verses appear among the prefatory matter to Poemata Omnia, sig. A3, attributed to Andrew Melville.

3. STC 13948.7. Moeris Daphn-Amaryllidis, Pars Tertia (Edinburgh, 1604), containing the third eclogue and notes, two fragmentary poems and a collection of six epigrams addressed to the King. The eclogue is re-printed in Daphn-Amaryllis (1605), sigs. C3v-D3, Iacobaea, sigs D1-E1, and Delitiae, 422-8. The six additional epigrams are reprinted after the fourth eclogue in Iacobaea, sigs. F1-2.

4. STC 13949. Daphn-Amaryllis (London, 1605), prints all four eclogues, together with the additional poems appended to 13948.7. There is also a prose dedication to the King on sigs A2-3r and an iambic poem 'Ad Librum' (sig. A3v) in the prefatory matter. Hume added explanatory notes to each eclogue. The work was re-issued (13949.5) by Field in the same year.

5. STC 13950. Lusus Poetici (London, 1605), also printed by Field. It comprises elegies I-V (Part 1), epigrams (Part 2), verse translations of Psalms 1, 88, 104, 144 and 'Aselcanus' (Part 3). The elegies are reprinted in Poemata Omnia, sigs B2-E3r, and in Delitiae, 378-402. The epigrams may conveniently by divided into those concerning Hume's family, and more general verses. All are reprinted in Poemata Omnia, sigs G2-L1r and N1v-3r. Some twelve of the former may be found in De Familia Humia Wedderburnensi Liber. Nine of the latter were included in Delitiae, 431-3. The psalm paraphrases are in Poemata Omnia, sigs E3v-G1v. Surprisingly Hume's version of Psalm 104 is overlooked by both the editor of Octupla (Edinburgh, 1696) and of Musae Sacrae (Edinburgh, 1739). The B.L. copy does not include Hume's version, but another edition, seen by the editors of Musa (II, xlvi), does have his paraphrase. 'Aselcanus', together with the address to Melville, is in Poemata Omnia, sigs N3-P4, and without the address in Delitiae, 402-417.

6. STC 13952. Iusta (London, 1613), a lament on the death of Prince Henry, dedicated to Charles, and reprinted in Iacobaea, sigs H1v-I2r, in a censored version.

7. STC 13953. Regi suo... Gratulatio (Edinburgh, 1617), contains the long poem of that name (sigs A2-4), two short poems on the Hume clan (A4v), 'Dextrae Oscula' (B1r), 'Tarda Impressio' (B1v) and 'Difficilis Exhibitio' (B1c-2r), reprinted in Iacobaea, sigs G1-H1r. They were written, of course, to celebrate the King's return to his native land and to recommend the Hume family to him. Nichols (p.306n) says that the work, which he calls Congratulatio, was printed while the King was still in Scotland (and thus, before 4 August). There does not appear

to be any direct evidence for this except in the implication of Hume's prefatory remark (sig. A1v) 'dabunt alii meliora et danto' that his book preceded other presentations of the same kind. Of course, this need not imply Nichols' conclusion. Other implications of the epigram 'Difficilis Exhibitio' are discussed below, p.

8. STC 140. The Muses Welcome (Edinburgh, 1618) includes all the verse from 13953 (pp.10-15) except the two concluding epigrams, 'Scotiae Certamen' (p.15), two poems on the King's birthday (p.117) and 'Imperii Symbolum' (p.118). The last three do not appear elsewhere. 'Scotiae Certamen' is in Iacobaea, sig. I2. Those poems reproduced from Gratulatio appear with the minor alterations or refinements of expression, particularly in the longest poem. It cannot be stated for certain whether these emendations were made by Hume or Adamson. James Hume prints the Gratulatio versions.

9. STC 142. Τὰ τῶν Μουσῶν Ἐξόδια (Edinburgh, , 1618), sig. A2r, prints two poems of farewell, 'Scotiae ad Regem' and 'Scotiae ad Angliam', reprinted in Iacobaea, sigs I2v-3r.

10. J238. Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum (Amsterdam, 1637), I, 378-438, reprints the elegies Daphn-Amaryllis , 'Aselcanus', a few of the epigrams and a series of five poems on the Gunpowder Plot. This latter group do not appear elsewhere. The selection ends with 'De Iacobo VI... Expectatio' which first appeared in the Lusus.

11. H487. Poemata Omnia (Paris, 1639), reprints all of Lusus Poetici, prefaced by letters and verses by Andrew Melville, concerning Daphn-Amaryllis . The book was edited by Godscroft's son, James Hume, who

adds many other epigrams, some on members of the family (sigs L1-N1), others on friends (sigs N3-P2).

12. H490. Iacobaea (Paris,1639), apparently issued with Poemata Omnia but separately signed, collects all Hume's royal poetry. 'Daphn-Amaryl-lis' is reprinted with additional notes and footnotes (by James Hume?). There are a number of additional poems addressed to James I (sigs A2-4 and I2-3), verses from Welcome and Ἔξοδια (sigs G1-H1r and I2-3r), 'Iusta' (sigs H1v-I2r), followed by two epigrams to James and Anne of Denmark from Lusus (sig. I2r). The volume ends with two poems on the death of James (sig. I3) and an 'Εισόδιον' on the projected visit to Scotland of Charles I in 1629.

13. Wing H365. The History of the House and Race of Douglas and Angus, 2 volumes (Edinburgh, 1643), contains some sixteen epigrams commemorating various of the Earls of Douglas and Angus, and one on the execution of Regent Morton in 1581. Each is accompanied by an English verse translation. Only two of the poems - on Archibald Douglas, the ninth Earl of Angus (d.1588) and Hume's employer - are by Godscroft and are printed in Lusus (sigs E4v-F1 and F4-G1r) and Poemata Omnia (sigs G2-3r and H2-3r). The remainder are taken, without acknowledgement from the Heroes of John Johnston. The first poem to Archibald Douglas, 'Olim saeva tui...', has some variants from the earlier printings.

14. Robert Wodrow's Biographical Collections, XIII, no. 38 (Glasgow U.L. MS. Gen. 1207), includes the verses beginning 'Morte saeva....' from the text in History. He makes notes on a work vindicating Buchanan entitled Camdanea, which has a copy of 'Scotiae Certamen', with some variant readings.

15. De Familia Humia Wedderburnensi Liber, edited by John Miller for the Abbotsford Club (Edinburgh, 1839), includes a number of poems on Godscroft's immediate family (p.14 and passim), all written by 1605 and included in Lusus, sigs

It may be deduced from the above that the Poemata Omnia and Iacobaea collected all the printed poetry except for the three epigrams on pp.117-8 of The Muses Welcome and the sequence of five poems on the Gunpowder Plot from the Delitiae (pp.433-6). Also omitted is the 'Expectatio', first printed in Lusus Poetici, probably because that poem is no more than an extended version of the incomplete juvenile composition in the Moeris, which James Hume did print. The reason behind the other omissions would seem to be that James Hume did not have access either to Welcome or the Delitiae. The latter case is somewhat surprising, for the 'stock list' printed on sig. S1r of Poemata Omnia, analyzed above, proves that the Delitiae had arrived in the Paris bookshops before Hume's poems were printed.

James Hume seems to have used two sources for his reprinting of the 1617 poems. The Gratulatio volume was reprinted in its entirety, along with the brief prose dedication to the King. Of the other poems which James Hume recovered for Iacobaea, he was relying on his father's own manuscript rather than the texts in Welcome and Ἐγκώμια. This would seem to be confirmed by the omission of three poems and minor alterations in phraseology of the kind noticed above in connection with Gratulatio. Thus the following hypothesis may be presented concerning Godscroft's work in 1617. Hume despatched either to Adamson or to local masters of ceremonies, a number of verses celebrating the King's

visit. Adamson retained the right to emend and anthologize them, as he saw fit, in The Muses Welcome and Ἔξοδια . Hume retained copies of some of these poems for inclusion in Gratulatio. Of the others, James Hume was able to retrieve the two 'farewell' poems and 'Scotiae Certamen' from his father's papers.

An anticipated argument against this hypothesis would be that James Hume was himself selective about what he wished to include. However he would appear to have made every effort to collect all the extant poetry. He notes, for example, on sig. P1v of Poemata Omnia, that he has been forced to omit two epigrams addressed to Andrew Melville, 'quia nimis acerba in Episcopos Anglicanos' - an example of self-censorship that would not have appealed to Melville or his father. Again, some obituary verses on Rollock would seem to have been missed because that volume was not accessible in Paris, and Godscroft did not preserve copies of verses written forty years before.

Closer scrutiny of the material salvaged by James Hume from the period of the accession again has more to tell us of Godscroft's work at this time. His son prints the four eclogues of Daphn-Amaryllis, as well as the additional epigrams appended to Moeris. There follow a number of other poems, probably written about the same time, two of which deserve our attention. The first of these 'Ad Regem' shows Hume to have been in London six months (Iacobaea, sigs A2r-3v):

Septima iam Tamesim propter me, Luna recurrens
Adspicit ingratas ire, redire vias,
Dum tua per totas fundo praeconia terras,
Et doceo nomen saxa sonare tuum,

Aut voco iungendas aeterna in foedera gentes

Sedulus, ingenio foedera digna tuo.

The second couplet must refer to the composition or publication of the Daphn-Amaryllis, with its echo of the title-page of Moeris. The third couplet may refer to the fourth eclogue, or to the tract De Unione Insulae Britanniae, also published in 1605.

The second epigram, which appears to be linked to the first in tone (that of contrite and neglected complaint) and in subject matter (presenting a work to the King), allows us to date this occasion more precisely. Hume refers to James' offspring 'nuper quae te Anna beavit', undoubtedly a reference to Princess Mary, who was born at Greenwich in April, 1605. Hume's confession that the subject matter of the work is 'vetus' and the absence of any reference to the events of November, 1605, which he also celebrated in verse, must surely date the poems to mid-1605. It seems then that Hume followed the King to London sometime towards the end of 1604. This would confirm the impression from Melville's letter (Poemata Omnia, sig. B1r) that his friend was now in a position to influence matters at Court. Significantly the following group of poems in Iacobaea, all plead the case of the imprisonned ministers - a major concern to Andrew and James Melville at this time. The exact date of Hume's departure for London cannot be ascertained, but Melville's complimentary verses, prefixed to the 1604 edition of the first eclogue, were sent to Hume at Edinburgh (Poemata Omnia, sig. A3).

Having reached the capital by 1605 we are not surprised to find Godscroft making much use of the printers there, for he was clearly not impressed by the work of Finlason in Edinburgh. There were two issues

of Daphn-Amaryllis, as well as editions of Lusus Poetici and the De Unione in that year. It is possible that he used, or at least intended to use, a London printer for the Gunpowder verses at the end of the year. Hume's failure to influence the course of events was not through any lack of poetic effort on his part. Unfortunately, the battle-lines were now drawn too far apart for any muse to act as go-between. As to why Godscroft decided not to use either of these epigrams in a printed work - they were surely intended either for Daphn-Amaryllis or De Unione - I hazard no guess.

1. T.W. Baldwin, William Shakespeare's Small Latine and Lesse Greeke, 2 volumes (Urbana, 1944); Harris Francis Fletcher, The Intellectual Development of John Milton, 2 volumes (Urbana, 1956).

2. The Muses Welcome, pp.117 and 258-261.

3. W. Leonard Grant, Neo-Latin Literature and the Pastoral (Chapel Hill, 1965), pp.329-330 and 347-8.

4. Robert Chambers, A Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen, edited by Thomas Thomson, 3 volumes (London, 1875), II, 293-6. It was first published in 1835.

5. Poemata Omnia, sig. M3r.

6. Iacobaea, sig. K4v.

7. W.J. Couper, 'The Levitical Family of Simson', Scottish Church History Society.

8. Acta Facultatis Artium Universitatis Sanctiandree 1413-1588, edited by Annie I. Dunlop (Edinburgh and London, 1964), pp.438 and 441.

9. R.G. Cant, The University of St. Andrews (Edinburgh and London, 1970), p.18. See also John Durkan and James Kirk, The University of Glasgow 1451-1577 (Glasgow, 1977), pp.183-4.

10. Moeris, sig. B3v.

11. Lusus Poetici, sig. B2r; Delitiae, I, 381.

12. De Familia Humia, p.73.

13. Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum 1546-80, edited by J. Maitland Thomson (Edinburgh, 1886), no. 2972.

14. De Familia Humia, p.59.

15. Hume's first appearance in his own History of the Houses of Douglas and Angus is as a participant in the Ruthven Raid of August, 1582 (pp.366-7), before the Earl's return to Scotland.

16. Lusus Poetici, sig. A4v; Delitiae, I, 379.

17. De Familia Humia, p.59.

18. Poemata Omnia, sigs L1v-2.

19. Milton. Poetical Works, edited by Douglas Bush (London, 1966), p.38.

20. Lusus Poetici, sigs B1v-2r; Delitiae, I, 381.

21. See above, pp.225-6.

22. Buchanan, II, 301-4.

23. John Leech, Musae Priores ('Epigrammatum'), sig. E7v, reprinted in Musa, III, 266.

24. Virgil, Aeneid VII, 731.

25. Lusus Poetici, sig. B2r; Delitiae, I, 381.

26. In the History of Houses of Douglas and Angus, II, 290, Hume writes that Angus saw and discussed with Sidney an early version of 'his so beautiful and universally accepted Birth, his Arcadia'. Later in the same work (II, 398-9), Hume prints a letter by himself of March, 1585, in which he informs Angus that he has recently been in contact with Sidney. There are two epigrams to Sidney's father-in-law, Francis Walsingham in Lusus Poetici, sig. H4.

27. Chambers, II, 293.

28. Bradner, p.162.

29. Lusus Poetici, sigs A4-E3r; Delitiae, I, 382-393.

30. Lusus Poetici, sig. B2v; Delitiae, I, 382.

31. Daphn-Amaryllis, sig. C1r.

32. Iacobaea, sig. C1v.

33. Hume may perhaps have completed the eclogues in London, and thus, like many another Scottish poet, have followed the King south. He seems to describe such a progress in the epigram entitled 'Difficilis Exhibitio' in Gratulatio, sig. B2r:

> Sterlini, Edini, Londini and moenia magni,
>
> Anglia quando aditu, Scotia quando abitu
>
> Indoluit, moesta, et gavisa est laeta, gementi
>
> Condoleoque illi, gratulor atque tibi...

Certainly the publication of three works by him at London in 1605 shows he was in the capital by this date.

34. Daphn-Amaryllis, sig. B3v.

35. In Daphn-Amaryllis, sig. B3v, he writes:

> Quod mihi tamen dedita opera cum factum esset, quamquam (fatear) nullo tunc exemplo, postea contigit eandem vocem apud Iulium Scaligerum invenire: idque semel, atque iterum in quarta Eclogarum, quas nymphas indigenas inscripsit, et Poetices libro sexto, qui Hypercriticus in Calpurnio...

Scaliger uses the word thus on two occasions in the second eclogue (not the fourth, as Hume notes) of 'Nymphae Indigenae' in his Poemata Omnia (Heidelberg, 1600), sigs r1v and r2r. Godscroft has also been influenced by reading in the sixth book of Poetices Libri Septem, caput V, on sig. E1v of the 1561 edition.

36. Poemata Omnia, sigs a3v and M3r; Iacobaea, sig. K4v.

37. Daphn-Amaryllis, sig. A4r.

38. Grant (p.329) detects the influence of French courtly Neo-Latin upon Hume's eclogues, particularly that of Jean Dorat.

39. Spenser. Poetical Works, edited by J.C. Smith and E. de Selincourt (Oxford, 1970), p.407. The letter is dated 23 January, 1589.

40. See the Calender of Scottish Papers, XII (1595-7), no. 291. The incident is analyzed in Evelyn May Albright, Dramatic Publication in England 1580-1640 (New York and London, 1927), pp.150-2; F.I. Carpenter, A Reference Guide to Edmund Spenser (Chicago, 1923), p.142 and by Kerby Neill in a Ph.D thesis (Johns Hopkins Univ., 1935) and in E.L.H., II, (October, 1935), pp.192-214.

41. Poemata Omnia, sig. A2v.

42. Poemata Omnia, sig. A2v.

43. Daphn-Amaryllis, sig. A4r.

44. Daphn-Amaryllis, sig. C3r.

45. Daphn-Amaryllis, sig. A4r.

46. Daphn-Amaryllis, sig. B3r.

47. Daphn-Amaryllis, sig. B1r.

48. Daphn-Amaryllis, sig. B3r.

49. Daphn-Amaryllis, sig. C2r; Delitiae, I, 421-2.

50. Godscroft himself was later designated 'Agrius' by John Leech in his salute to the shepherd-poets of Scotland in the fifth bucolic eclogue of Musae Priores, sig. C4r: 'Iamque vocat Siculae docilis successor avenae/, Agrius; agrestes quo non inflare cicutas/Doctior...'. The name represented an abbreviation of Godscroft's own Latin title 'Theagrius', first used in 1604.

51. Andrew Melville's fragmentary narrative, 'Gathelus', was first printed in his colleague, John Johnston's Inscriptiones Historicae Regum Scotorum (Amsterdam, 1602). It is reprinted in Delitiae, II, 67-71.

52. Poemata Omnia, sig. A2v.

53. Milton. Poetical Works, pp.11-13, the first Latin elegy, addressed to Charles Diodati.

54. Daphn-Amaryllis, sig. E4r; Delitiae, I, 428.

55. Daphn-Amaryllis, sig. E4r; Delitiae, I, 428.

56. Virgil, Eclogue IX, 51-3.

57. Virgil, Eclogue IX, 67.

58. Moeris, sig. A4v; Delitiae, I, 424.

59. Moeris, sig. C1r. The King's sonnet first appeared with a Latin version by John Maitland at the end of Ane Meditatioun upon the First Buke of the Chronicles of the Kings (Edinburgh, 1589), reprinted in the second edition (London, 1603). Fowler's sonnet 'Where shall the limits lye of all your fame?' appears in the prefatory matter to His Maiesties Poeticall Exercises (Edinburgh, 1591). The translation of Fowler's sonnet is in Moeris, sig. C2v.

60. Moeris, sig. A4v; Delitiae, I, 423.

61. Moeris, sig. A3r.

62. Andrew Melville, Στεφανίσκιον ad Scotiae Regem in Coronatione Reginae (Edinburgh, 1590) and Principis Scoto-Britannorum Natalia (Edinburgh and The Hague, 1594).

63. Poemata Omnia, sig. B1r.

64. Moeris, sig. B1r; Delitiae, I, 424.

65. Footnote to sig. D3r of Iacobaea.

66. Thomas Craig, Ad Iacobum Sextum Paraeneticon (Edinburgh, 1603) and Serenissimi Iacobi Στεφανοφορία (Edinburgh, 1603).

67. Poemata Omnia, sig. A4v.

68. McCrie, pp.324-5.

69. Letters of John Johnston and Robert Howie, p.203.

70. Moeris, sig. B1r; Delitiae, I, 424.

71. Harold Bloom, The Anxiety of Influence : A Theory of Poetry (New York, 1973).

72. Moeris, sig. B2v; Delitiae, I, 427.

73. Moeris, sig. B3v.

74. Buchanan's 'Genethliacon Iacobi Sexti Regis Scotorum' was first printed in Robert Estienne's edition of the profane poems (Paris, 1567). It may be found in Opera Omnia, II, 340-3. Patrick Adamson's Serenissimi Principis Henrici Stuarti.... Genethliacum (Paris, 1566) is in Delitiae, I, 13-17. Thomas Craig's 'Genethliacum' is also in Delitiae, I, 221-9. There is no record of an earlier publication of it.

75. Moeris, sig. B1; Delitiae, I, 424-5.

76. Aratus, Phaenomena, 147-153.

77. The Autobiography and Diary of Mr. James Melvill, edited by Robert Pitcairn for the Wodrow Society (Edinburgh, 1842), p.49. James Melville was introduced to the 'Astrologie' of Aratus in 1574.

78. Iacobaea, sig. C3r.

79. Moeris, sig. B1r; Delitiae, I, 424.

80. Moeris, sig. B3v.

81. The phrase 'variis distracto negotiis animo' is missing from the 1605 edition.

82. Lusus Poetici, sigs F2v-4r; Delitiae, I, 436-8.

83. Moeris, sig. B4v; Delitiae, I, 437-8.

84. Lusus Poetici, sig. F3v.

85. Moeris, sig. B1v; Delitiae, I, 425.

86. Moeris, sig. B4v-C1r.

87. Moeris, sig. B4r; Delitiae, I, 436.

88. Moeris, sig. B1r; Delitiae, I, 424.

89. Moeris, sig. B4r; Delitiae, I, 437.

90. See above, p.219.

91. Moeris, sig. B1v; Delitiae, I, 425.

92. Virgil, Eclogue IV, 56-7.

93. Servii Grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilii Bucolica et Georgica Commentarii, edited by Georgius Thilo (Leipzig, 1887), III, 56.

94. Moeris, sig. B1v; Delitiae, I, 425.

95. Moeris, sigs B1v-2r; Delitiae, I, 425-6.

96. Moeris, sigs B3v-4r; Delitiae, I, 436.

97. Regi Suo... Gratulatio (Edinburgh, 1617), sig. A2r.

98. Gratulatio, sig. A2r.

99. Gratulatio, sig. A2v.

100. Iacobaea, sig. G1v.

101. Poemata Omnia, sig. B1r.

102. The Muses Welcome, p.117.

103. The Muses Welcome, p.117.

104. The Muses Welcome, p.117.

105. In 'Difficilis Exhibitio' (Gratulatio, sig. B1v), Hume writes that his poetry ('haec carmina') was intended for delivery at Berwick, Dunglass, Seton, Kinnaird and Edinburgh. His use of the present tense, intendo, may have suggested to Nichols that Hume, with prior knowledge of the King's itinerary, was marshalling his material in advance, and thus that the work was printed before James' departure. It would also suggest that Hume could not be present in person to offer the poems collected in Gratulatio and Welcome. The tone of the two epigrams may indicate that he was no longer well enough to move far from his home. However, Hume's account is difficult to reconcile with the situation as presented in Welcome. Adamson records poetry by Godscroft only at Dunglass and at Edinburgh, during the King's second sojourn there. This covers all the poetry in Gratulatio except for the two concluding epigrams, which seem to have been composed specifically for that work. Indeed the Edinburgh verses did not even find a place in Gratulatio. It would seem that Hume was unable to reassemble all the poetry written for the visit in his own volume perhaps because John Adamson was already collecting together the materials for the 1618 volumes, Welcome and Ἔξοδια. It is also conceivable that Adamson did not feel duty bound to place all the poetry included in Welcome exactly where it was originally intended or delivered. Similarly he does not appear to have felt obliged to adhere exactly to texts as closely as the authors may have wished. As is apparent in the composition of the Delitiae, textual fidelity was still a comparatively frail concept.

106. From 'Tarda Impressio' on sig. B1v of Gratulatio.

107. Gratulatio, sig. B2r.

108. Hume began his second elegy 'Ille ego, qui pueri...' in Lusus Poetici, sig. B2v; Delitiae, I, 382.

109. Iacobaea, sig. I3. A word has been removed at the beginning of the eighth line, probably insulting to the Catholic Church. The 'Iusta' has similarly been censored in Iacobaea (sig. I1r), removing references to the Jesuits as 'impietas Romana' and 'Latiaeque lupi'.

CHAPTER FIVE. Conclusion.

Renaissance Scottish Latin spanned a period of roughly 150 years, from about 1510, when James Foulis published his slim volume of poetry at Paris, until the 1650s when all the major Latin poets were dead. There was a brief revival in the 1690s and the early eighteenth century, beyond the scope of this thesis, but this was essentially an antiquarian movement. Throughout this period Scots continued to write Neo-Latin verse while Latin prose remained the chief medium for political and theological debate. In institutions of learning, both school and university, it dominated the vernacular for even longer. In all of this, Scotland differed little from other nations in Europe. However, the direction taken by Scottish Latin and its particular concerns were the result of various pressures, local, national and international, which have been touched upon in this thesis. We may now draw together certain conclusions by examining these three factors in turn.

Looked at in the wider international context of the Renaissance, Scottish Latin was a late arrival. Although scholars from Scotland like Foulis, Buchanan and Florence Wilson were composing verse quite as easily as their English counterparts, such writers were continental humanists, taking their cue from developments in France. It was only in the first two decades of the seventeenth century that Scots were writing and publishing large quantities of Latin verse in their own country. By this date in England, Latin was being eclipsed by the vernacular as a medium for poetry. By the time of the publication of the Delitiae

Poetarum Scotorum, printed twenty years or more after the other national anthologies, the medium was in decline throughout Europe.

Nevertheless, Scot printed the work in Europe, partly because of the superiority of the Dutch presses for this kind of anthology, but also out of a recognition that such a work needed a European audience. For this reason most of the authors he collected would be familiar names to an educated European, or at least had continental connections. It has been suggested that it was in this way unrepresentative of the bulk of Scottish Latin in the later period, yet it reflected a fact of Scottish culture throughout the Renaissance.

We may distinguish three periods of contact between Scots and the Continent which affected the Latin poetry. Initially it was through their contact with French academic circles that men like Foulis or Buchanan became participants in a thriving Neo-Latin tradition. In a Europe yet to be divided by religious barriers, such scholars moved freely between institutions of learning and maintained close liaisons with groups like the Pléiade. Florence Wilson saw his work printed abroad almost a century before an edition appeared in England. A generation later, men like Hercules Rollock and George Crichton had access to the French presses long before such a possibility could be afforded them in Scotland. Had they not learnt techniques of Latin composition in Europe, they would not, in all likelihood, have become poets at all.

Secondly, when verse composition was being taught in the Scottish schools, a writer might still profit from continental travel, particularly from widening his awareness of new

developments. John Johnston developed an interest in the historical epigram, a genre he made peculiarly his own, from study at the German universities. David Hume, who introduced the allegorical pastoral poem in Latin into Britain, undoubtedly benefited from his sojurn in France and his reading in that tradition. We might also cite the Emblemata Amatoria of George Chalmers or the prose romances of John Barclay. Frequently however, the new genres died with their instigators and native Scots remained ignorant or indifferent to these flights of fancy.

Thirdly, there were always Scots writers who chose to live abroad or were forced to look to Europe for employment. In the post-Reformation era their movements were dictated by their religious allegiance, but they continued to write throughout Europe the kind of poetry that we might have expected them to write in Scotland: epithalamia, obituary verses, encomia for patrons and other sorts of occasional verse. This kind of poetry knew no frontiers and names were easily transferred to epithets.

At a national level, we cannot fail to notice the magnetic pull of the monarchy upon Latin verse. Although James did not actively encourage Latin, as he did Scots verse, his reputation for learning attracted to him considerable quantities of Latin or even Greek poetry. His return to Scotland in 1617 elicited a collection of verse, interspersed with academic disputations and prose encomia from a tradition at its peak. As such, it probably exerted a profound effect upon Scot of Scotstarvet and John Leech and instilled a patriotic pride in their nation's literature. Using sources such as the histories of Boece and Buchanan, Latin

poets built up a repertoire of topoi and conventions with which to address their sovereign. They interwove such themes as the myth of Gathelus or the Stone of Scone to argue for a national destiny and to influence James' international policies. Yet the ultimate embodiment of such material, a national epic in verse to parallel those in prose or the vernacular, was never composed. Scottish Latin verse remained too occasional and limited for such a project. Those writers capable of such a quantitative leap, such as Adamson or Melville, found their energies diverted elsewhere.

James' departure for England spelled the end of courtly Scots literature and dispersed the 'Castalian band' that the king himself had created. Some vernacular writers followed the procession to London, others adopted English for their verse. Yet the court exodus had little effect on the production of Latin. Latin was predominantly the domain of the professional classes, teachers, lawyers and doctors and few depended upon poetry in that language for a living. The few there were who took their Latin skills to London, men like Thomas Dempster, John Barclay or John Leech, were to be disappointed, and they returned to the Continent.

There would always be Scots 'ubique latentes', but as a Protestant country increasingly aware of the dangers of a European education, central government made strenuous attempts to provide a good general education at home. The universities and schools were subject to greater scrutiny by the Kirk and the state and particular attention paid to the larger burgh schools. The story of the national grammar shows the concern of the state to regularise the teaching of Latin throughout the kingdom and to provide a home-bred

alternative to the foreign textbooks so long in use. As in England, after the introduction of the Royal Grammar, penalties could be imposed upon printers continuing to publish alternative texts or upon any who still used them. However, the whole tale reveals the difficulties of enacting a national strategy in such a society, and the optimism with which this was undertaken soon faded. Again the group of scholars initially involved in the project found their energies consumed elsewhere. Political and religious matters constantly distracted writers like Andrew Melville from literary pursuits.

Local communities proved resistant to the imposition of national textbooks, for institutions of education continued to be controlled locally. But there were other regional factors to be taken into account. Increasingly a local council, such as Edinburgh or Aberdeen sought to use its writers to promote its image. In Aberdeen, David Wedderburn and others were employed to remind James and Charles of her 'special relationship' with the sovereign. Edinburgh too rewarded authors for such work. On the visits of James in I6I7 and Charles in I633, each community paraded its learned citizens before the monarch. They wrote verses to extol the virtues of their burghs and to recount their ancient origins. When John Adamson collected the material written for the I6I7 visit and published it as The Muses' Welcome, he preserved in it distinct local anthologies. In I633 the universities published their contributions separately, as St. Andrews had in I6I7.

The burghal or regional orientation of much Scottish Latin verse is significant compared with that of much of Europe. Individual communities such as Aberdeen developed local traditions

of writing, drawing upon geographical and historical topoi unique to themselves. Arthur Johnston and John Johnston before him, attempted to encapsulate this individuality in their use of J. C. Scaliger's sub-genre of encomia urbium.

Since writing in Latin was probably confined to a few major towns, notably the university cities, Perth and Stirling, a number of distinct circles of writers grew up, drawing upon local traditions and communicating with fellow enthusiasts. Such groups were often based on family connections, such as that in Perth, or centred upon an educational establishment, as at St. Mary's College in St. Andrews. The influence of a father upon his sons, or of a teacher upon his pupils was an important factor. Apart from the mutual encouragement implicit in such an arrangement, individuals frequently exchanged poems, particularly at New Year. In addition, one writer often requested complimentary verses for the prefatory leaves of a new work. The fair copy of a manuscript, passed on to friends for comments and criticisms, might well return to the author inscribed with such epigrams.

Again, at the funeral of a well-respected member of a community, groups united to pay their last respects in verse. The deaths of John Wallace, a student at St. Andrews, Robert Rollock and Patrick Forbes elicited such a response, and on the deaths of the Earls Marischal in 1623 and 1635, the college that bears their name presented volumes of obituary poems. Such anthologies of verse be they funerary or celebratory, were the natural result of the vitality and importance of verse composition in a community. It is no coincidence that such collections are found at St. Andrews

in the early seventeenth century and at Aberdeen slightly later, though again they appear earlier in England and Europe. Men like George Buchanan and Duncan Liddell, with experience of such a tradition on the Continent, sought to encourage it in their own colleges. Verse writing could be competitive and could reflect the wider humanistic aims of an institution.

The vast majority of Scottish Latin poems were of this kind: liminary verses for books or occasional verse on the death of a colleague or benefactor or the visit of royalty. Yet it is a feature often overlooked. James W. L. Adams, in his pioneering article on the Scottish Latin poets, one of only three modern studies in the field, estimates that 'probably over a hundred Scots had their verses published'. He arrives at this figure by adding together the number of poets anthologized in the Delitiae and Musa Latina Aberdonensis and rounding up the total. In fact, a closer estimate, covering the period up to I640, would be three hundred. Adams and Bradner together mention all the familiar names whose collections of verse are large enough to give some critical opinion of their quality and style. We might label them 'poems for poems' sake' or self-sufficient works of literature. This was the kind of material that Scotstarvet sought for his collection. What they do not consider, and for this reason Adams' estimate falls so short of the truth, is occasional and complimentary verse. It is in such compositions that the majority of those writers listed in the appendix to this thesis tried their hand. Many survive in only one or two poems, though undoubtedly many more wrote verses that no longer survive or were never printed. Others submitted poems to anthologies

anonymously. The verse epistles to his father by George Dundas, a student at St. Leonard's College in the early seventeenth century, give us a glimpse of the proliferation of writing, below the water-line of the printed text. Similar material waits to be sifted, but much else is lost. Three hundred is probably a very conservative estimate, even of writers in print.

It has been argued that the introduction of verse composition into the school curriculum had a lasting effect upon Scottish Latin. Effectively, it widened the poetic franchise, making the techniques of versification, whether 'turning' a piece of prose, using redactio to vary a theme or choosing an appropriate epithet or classical allusion, available to an increasing number of potential writers. Such methods, coupled with the more general tradition of imitation, enabled even the most sporadic of writers to rise to the occasion when requested or obliged to submit verses. Even an accomplished poet like David Hume of Godscroft can be seen to return to the themes of his youthful poetry throughout his adult work. His colleague Andrew Melville, together with many fellow Scots, found the turning of the Latin psalms from prose to verse an attractive and edifying pursuit. It was a practice that put them in direct competition with Buchanan, whose psalm paraphrases they had read and parsed at school.

Teachers of Latin, accustomed to instructing their pupils in these various techniques, were often the most accomplished and enthusiastic writers of verse and the most commited to the practice. On the royal visits of 1617 and 1633 it was often the local school-master that lead the burgh's celebrations. His ability to deliver

polished orations in Latin was also called upon. If school and university teachers constitute the largest group of active Latinists, other professions are also well represented. Of these, professional men whose work generally involved use of Latin are most often seen to pen verses: doctors of medicine, lawyers and clergymen. The editors of The Muses Welcome and the Delitiae clearly thought it worthy of note that James Halkerston was a professional soldier and Henry Anderson a merchant, two careers not expected to foster Latin verse. The absence of a vernacular poetry in seventeenth century Scotland has been seen as contributing to the virility of the Latin tradition, but many of the authors involved were unlikely to have composed poetry other than in Latin.

This thesis has purposely concentrated attention on low levels of poetic activity. We have looked at David Wedderburn responding to the need to promote his native city in his verse, John Scot of Scotstarvet taking stock of the criticism of his poems by John Leech, David Hume reworking his juvenile verse or George Dundas learning the craft of epistolary verse from his father and from models such as Buchanan. It is by examining such evidence, whether it be in manuscript or embedded in the printed works, that we can get closest to the way Latin poets in Renaissance Scotland plied their trade, responding to the conventions of the tradition and to local and national pressures. Latin had an important role to play in the educational and social life of the kingdom.

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Scottish Latin Poetry to 1640 : a Checklist

The checklist provides a rudimentary alphabetical list of Scots whose Latin verse was printed before 1640. Limitations of space prevent the checklist from supplying full bibliographical details, and locations are indicated by means of a coding system as follows:

A. Verse printed in England or Scotland, as indicated in STC under author.

B. Verse printed abroad, listed in Shaaber.

C. Dedicatory or liminary verse in STC books, as indicated in Williams.

Inclusion of verse in the anthologies printed in Scotland, 1599-1635, is indicated by the following date code:

1599. De Vita et Morte Roberti Rollok (Edinburgh, 1599) or in the MS of tributes, printed by the Bannatyne Club (Edin. 1826).

1603. In Obitum J. Wallasii, Lachrymae (Leyden, 1603), a joint volume of tributes by the universities of Leyden and St. Andrews.

1617E. Νοστωδία (Edin. 1617), from Edinburgh University on the royal visit. Most of this verse is reprinted in Muses Welcome.

1617S. Antiquissimae ... Academiae Andreanae Χαριστήρια (Edin. 1617), mostly reprinted in Welcome.

1618. Muses Welcome (Edin. 1618).

1618E. Τά τῶν Μουσῶν Εξόδια (Edin. 1618).

1623. Lachrymae Academiae Marischallanae (Aberdeen, 1623).

1631. John Lundie, Oratio Eucharistica (Ab. 1631).

1633E. Εἰσόδια Musarum Edinensium (Edin. 1633), on the royal visit.

1633G. Academiae Glasguensis Χαριστήριον (Edin. 1633).

1633M. A Funeral Sermon, preached at the Buriall of the Lady Iane Maitland (Edin. 1633).

1634. Epitaphs uponthe Untymelie Death of W. Michel (Ab. 1634).

1635F. The Funerals of P[atrick] Forbes (Ab. 1635).

1635M. Lachrymae Academiae Mareschallanae (Ab. 1635).

A number of Scots contributed verses to English university anthologies: these works are indicated by title. Also indicated by title are works printed abroad which include liminary verse by Scots.

Abernethy, Adam. B. 1599
Abernethy, John. C.
Abernethy, Robert in Summula Pauperum (Paris, 1494)
Adamson, Alexander. 1618.
Adamson, Henry. 1618.
Adamson, James. 1633E.
Adamson, John. A.C. 1599, 1618, 1633E, 1633M.
Adamson, Patrick. A.B.
Aidie, Andrew. B. in Pat. Forbes, Commentarie (Middelburg, 1614).
Aidie, William. 1635M.
Anderson, Adam. 1618.
Anderson, Henry. 1618. in Jo. Malcolm, Commentarius (Middelburg, 1615).
Anderson, Patrick. Some verse in Grana Angelica (Edin. 1635) may be his.
Areskin, William. 1617S. 1618.
Armor, John. 1633E. 1635F.
Armstrong, Archibald in Thom. Dempster, Scotia Illustrior (Lyon, 1620).
Arthur, William. 1599.
Authinleck, Patrick. C.
Ayton, Robert. A.B.C.
Bachelor, James. in Jo. Vaus, Rudimenta (Paris, 1531).
Bailie, William. in Alex. Scot, Universa Grammatica Graeca (Lyon, 1593).
Balcanquall, John. in Epithalamia (Oxford, 1613) and Threni Exoniensium (Oxf. 1613).
Balcanquall, Robert. C. 1617E. 1618. 1633M.
Balcanquall, Samuel. in Genethliacum (Cambridge, 1631), in Ducis Eboracensis Fasciae (Cam. 1633), Carmen Natalitium (Cam. 1635), Συνωδία (Cam. 1637).
Balcanquall, Walter. in Epicedium (Cam, 1612).
Balliol, James. C.
Ballentine, Walter. C. 1618. 1618E. 1633M.
Barclay, David. C. 1599. in Jo. Johnston, Heroes (Amsterdam, 1603).
Barclay, George. C.
Barclay, John. A.B.
Barclay, William. A.B.C.
Bellenden, Thomas. 1599.
Bellenden, William. B. in Ciceronis Consul (Paris, 1612).
Bell, John. A.
Bell, John. C.
Bicarton, Thomas. B.
Blackhall, William. 1634. 1635M.
Blackwood, Adam. B.
Blackwood, Henry. in Adam Elder, Strenae (Paris, 1558).
Blackwood, Henry. B.
Blackwood, James. B.
Blair, James. 1617E. 1618.
Blair, Robert. 1618.
Boece, Hector. in Explicatio (Paris, ? 1519).
Boyd, Alexander. 1618.
Boyd, Andrew. A.
Boyd, Mark Alexander. B.
Boyd, Robert. A. 1599. 1618. in Thom. Dempster, Historia (Bologna, 1627).

Boyd, Zachary. in The Last Battell (Edin. 1629).
Boyd, Robert. 1631.
Bruce, Andrew. 1617S. 1618.
Bruce, Peter. 1603. 1617E. 1618.
Buchanan, George. A.B.
Burnet, Robert. 1633E.
Cameron, John. in Defensio (Saumur, 1624) and Opera Omnia (Frankfurt, 1642).
Campbell, Colin. 1603.
Campbell, Ninian. B. 1633G. 1635F. in Apologia Criticae (Saumur, 1628) and A Treatise upon Death (Edin. 1635).
Campbell, Patrick. C.
Cargill, James. B.
Cargill, Thomas. in Jo.Johnston, Inscriptiones (Amsterdam, 1602) and Heroes (Leyden, 1603).
Cargill, William. C.
Carmichael, James. C. in Grammaticae Latinae (Cam. 1587).
Carmichael, James (Jnr.). C.
Chalmers, George. B. in Thom. Dempster, Apparatus (Bologna, 1622) and Da. Chalmers, De Statu Hominis (Cat. 1627).
Chalmers, William. in Da. Chalmers, De Statu Hominis (Cat. 1627).
Charteris, Henry. 1599.
Charteris, Henry (Jnr.). C. 1617E. 1618.
Chisholm, William. in Examen Confessione (Avenio, 1601).
Cockburn, John. 1633M.
Coldoun, James. 1599. in Rob. Balfour, Commentarius in Organum (Bordeaux, 1618).
Colt, Oliver. C.
Colville, John. B. in Oratio Funebris (Paris, 1604).
Con, George. B. in Praemetiae (Bologna, 1621) and Thom. Dempster, Benedicti Accolti (Florence, 1623).
Cornwall, John. 1617S. 1618.
Crab, Gilbert. in Tractatus Noticiarum (Paris, ? 1503), and Tractatus Lucidus (Paris, 1524).
Craig, George. A.
Craig, John. C.
Craig, Thomas. A.C. 1599. in Scotland, Acts and Constitutiounis (Edin. 1566) and Lawes and Actes (Edin. 1597).
Craig. William. 1599.
Crauford, Thomas. C. 1633E.
Creighton, Robert. C. in Cantabrigiensium Dolor (Cam. 1625).
Crichton, George. B. Many of his prose works also contain verse.
Crichton, James. B. in Aldus, Ciceronis Opera, X (Venice, 1583).
Crichton, James. B.
Cumming, Alexander. 1635F.
Danskin, Henry. C. 1617S. 1618. in Jo Johnston, Heroes (Leydon, 1603).
Davidson, John. C. in Ane Brief Commendation (St.A. 1573).
Davidson, William. in Institutiones Luculentae (Paris, 1560).
Dempster, Thomas, A.B.C. in Will. Gordon, Theoremata (Padua, 1621).
Dixon, David. 1618.
Donaldson, Walter. in Synopsis Oeconomica (Paris, 1620).
Douglas, Alexander. 1617E. 1618. 1633E.
Douglas, George. 1599. 1618.

Douglas, John. 1599.
Downie, Alexander. 1635F.
Downie, Robert. 1634. 1635F. 1635M.
Drummond, Thomas. in Pat. Adamson, De Papistarum (Edin. 1564).
Dun, Patrick. Verse in Basel theses, 1607.
Dunbar, John. A.
Dunbar, Thomas. C.
Duncan, Mark. B.
Durward, John. 1618.
Echlin, David. A.B.
Echlin, John. A.C. 1603. in Jo Johnston's Inscriptiones (Amsterdam, 1602) and Heroes (Leyden, 1603).
Edmeston, James. C.
Eglishem, George. A. in Thom. Dempster, Musca (Paris, 1611).
Elphinston, William. C.
Fairlie, James. 1617E. 1618.
Fairlie, Robert. A.C.
Ferme, Charles. C.
Forbes, Arthur. in Pat. Forbes, Commentarie (Middelburg, 1614).
Forbes, James. in Will. Gordon Theoremata (Padua, 1621).
Forbes, John. B.C. 1634, 1635F. in Pat. Forbes, Commentarie (Middelburg, 1614).
Forbes, Walter. C.
Foulis, James. in Acts and Constitutiounis (Edin. 1566)
Foullis, James. B.
Futhie, James. 1617S
Garden, Alexander. 1635F.
Gellie, John. A.B.C. 1618.
Glegg, James. C. 1603. 1617S. 1618.
Goldman, Peter. 1618. in Disputatio Inauguralis (Leyden, 1610).
Gordon, Arthur. C.
Gordon, James. in Lois Servin, Plaidoyé (Paris, 1586).
Gordon, James. 1634. 1635F.
Gordon, John. A.B.
Gordon, John. 1633M.
Gordon, Robert. C. 1633M. 1634. 1635F.
Graeme, William. in Manderston, Bipartitum...Opusculum (Paris, 1523).
Gray, John. in Picard, Thesaurus (Milan, 1506).
Gray, Patrick. in Academiae Cantabrigiensis Lachrymae (Cambridge, 1587).
Greir, George. 1599.
Halkerston, James. in Academiae Cantabrigiensis Lachrymae (Cambridge, 1587).
Hamilton, Alexander. 1633E.
Hamilton, John. 1635F.
Hamilton, Patrick. 1633G. 1633E.
Hamilton, Thomas. in Servin, Plaidoyé (Paris, 1586).
Hart, William. B. 1599.
Hay, Archibald. B.
Hay, John. in Manderston, Bipartitum (Paris, 1518).
Hegate, William. B. in Rob. Balfour, Commentariorum (Paris, 1620), Commentarius in Organum (Bordeaux, 1618) and Sieur de la Valletrye, Oevres Poetiques (Paris, 1602).

Hempseid, Walter. 1634.
Henryson, Edward. C.
Hope, Thomas. A. 1617E. 1618.
Hume, Alexander. C. 1599. 1618. in Jo. Johnston, Heroes (Leyden, 1603).
Hume, David. A. B. 1599. 1618. 1618E.
Hume, James. in Pantaleonis (Rouen, 1633), David Hume, Poemata Omnia (Paris, 1639).
Hume, Patrick. 1618.
Hunter, Andrew. 1603.
Inglis, Alexander. in Thom. Dempster, Musca (Paris, 1611).
Ireland, John of. in Merowre of Wyssdome.
Irvine, Alexander. in Will. Gordon, Theoremata (Padua, 1621).
Jack, Thomas. C.
James VI. in Cantabrigiensis Lachrymae (Cambridge, 1587)
Jamieson, Patrick. 1635F.
Johnston, Arthur, A.B.C.
Johnston, John. A.B.C. 1599. 1603.
Johnston, Patrick. 1617S. 1618.
Johnston, William. C. 1633M. 1634. 1635F. in Will. Gordon, Theoremata (Padua, 1621).
Jordon, John. in Thom. Cumming, Theses (Harderwick, 1611).
Kainzie, David. C.
Kella, Samuel. A. 1618.
Kemp, John. 1635F.
Keith, James, 1635F.
King, Adam. A. 1617E. 1618.
King, William. 1617E. 1618.
Kinloch, David. B.
Kinloch, David (Jnr.). 1617S. 1618.
Kinloch, Patrick. 1618. 1633M.
Kynmond, William. in Thom. Dempster, Scotia Illustrior (Lyon, 1620).
Lauder, William. 1631. 1635F.
Lawson, James. C.
Leask, William. C.
Leech, Andrew. B.C.
Leech, David of Mounsemille. 1618.
Leech, David of St. Andrews. 1633M.
Leech, David of Aberdeen. A.C. 1631. 1635F.
Leech, John. A. 1618. 1618E. in Geo.Chalmers Sylva (Paris, 1620).
Leith, James. B.
Leslie, John. B. a number of his prose works also include verses.
Leslie, William. 1634. 1635F.
Lindsay, David. C.
Lindsay, David (Balcarres). 1633M.
Lindsay, G. C.
Lindsay, John. C.
Livingstone, Alexander. in Anthologia in Regis Exanthemata (Cam. 1632).
Livingstone, William. 1603.
Logan, James. 1617E. 1618.
Lundie, John. 1635F.
Lundie, Thomas. C.
Lunnie, Robert. in Lachrymae Cantabrigienses (Cam. 1619).

Maclean, Roderick. B.
McCulloch (Malcalon), James. B.
Magill, Robert. 1633E. 1633M.
Main (Magnus), Robert. 1633G. 1635F.
Maitland, John. C. in Delitiae.
Maitland, Patrick. 1633M.
Maitland, Thomas. in Delitiae.
Maitland, Thomas (of Aberdeen). 1633M.
Major, John. in Quartus Sententiarum (Paris, 1508).
Makluire, John. C.
Malcolm, John. C.
Martin, William. 1617S. 1618.
Massie, Andrew. 1623.
Matheson, John. in Will. Hegate, Gallia Victrix (Limoges, 1598).
Maxwell, James. A.
Maxwell, Robert. C.
Melville, Andrew. A.B.C. 1599. 1603. in Jo. Johnston, Inscriptiones (Amsterdam, 1602), Heroes (Leyden, 1603) and Jo. Malcolm, Commentarius (Middelburg, 1615).
Melville, James. C.
Middleton, Gilbert. 1631.
Mitchell, (Michael), David. C. 1634.
Morton, Andrew. 1603.
Muirhead, Arthur. 1603.
Munday (Mudaeus), George. 1617S.
Murdison, John. 1603.
Muir, John. in Geo. Con, Praemetiae (Bologna, 1621).
Murray, John. in Genethliacum (Cam. 1631), Anthologia (Cam. 1632), Rex Redux (Cam. 1633).
Murray, Thomas. A. (under James VI). C.
Murray, William. in Genethliacum (Cam. 1631), Anthologia (Cam. 1632), Rex Redux (Cam. 1633).
Napier, John. C.
Neish, David. 1633M.
Nesbit, William. 1603. 1633G.
Newton, Arthur. 1633E.
Nicholson, Thomas. 1617E. 1618.
Nimmo, John. 1617E. 1618.
Nisbet, George. C.
Nisbet, Patrick. 1617E. 1618. 1633E.
Ogilvie, Walter. B.
Panter, Patrick. A. 1633. 1635F.
Pebles, John. 1617S.
Peirsoun, Alexander. 1617E. 1618.
Petrie, John. 1603. in Ro. Balfour, Commentarius in Organum (Bordeaux, 1618).
Pont, Robert. C. 1599.
Porteous, James. C.
Primrose, David. 1617E. 1618. 1633E.
Primrose, Gilbert. C. in Jo. Cameron, Opera Omnia (Frankfurt, 1642).
Ramsay, Andrew. A.C. 1633M. 1635F.
Ramsay, Thomas. C.

Ray, John. C. 1617E. 1618.
Ray, John (of Aberdeen). 1635F. 1635M.
Reid, Alexander. in Epigrammata Regiorum Medicinae Professorum (Cam. 1623).
Reid, James. 1617E. 1618.
Reid, Robert. 1603.
Reid, Thomas. A.C.
Robertson, Andrew. B.
Robertson, George. A. 1635F.
Roche, Robert. 1603.
Rollock, A.C.
Rollock, Hercules. A.B.C. 1599.
Rollock, Peter. C.
Rollock, Robert. C.
Rose, John. C. 1633G.
Rose, Thomas. Idaea (Lon. 1608) may contain verse by him.
Ross, Alexander. A.C.
Ross. J. B.
Row, John. C.
Russell, John. C.
Ruthven, Alexander. 1599.
Sandys, Patrick. A.C. 1617E. 1618. 1633M.
Sandiland, James. 1617E. 1618. 1635F.
Scot, Alexander. in Will. Chisholm, Examen (Avenio, 1601).
Scot, James. 1617E. 1618.
Scot, John (of Scotstarvet). A.B.
Scot, John. A. 1599.
Scot, William. 1617E. 1618.
Scotuer, G. in Gilb. Jack, Positiones Iatro-physicae (Leyden, 1622).
Seget, Thomas. B.C.
Seton, Alexander. C. in Academiae Cantabrigiensis Lachrymae (Cam.1587),
Jo. Leslie, Historia (Rome, 1578).
Seton, Alexander. 1633M.
Sharp, Patrick. C.
Sibbald, George. C.
Sibbald, James. 1623.
Sibbald, Patrick. C.
Simson, Adam. C.
Simson, Archibald, A.C. 1618.
Simson, William. C.
Simson, G. (or W.). C.
Sinclair, David. B.
Skene, John. C.
Smith, Robert. 1617E. 1618. 1633E. 1633M.
Spense, George. C.
Spense, James. C.
Spense, Joseph. C.
Spense, Robert. A.C.
Stephens (Stephanus), Robert. 1617E. 1618.
Stephenson, Andrew. 1617E. 1618.
Stewart, John. 1618.
Stirk, George. A. 1618.
Strachan, Andrew. C.

Strachan, George. B. in Thom. Dempster, Antiquitatum...Corpus (Paris, 1613), in Delitiae.
Strang, John. C. 1633G.
Struther, William. 1617E. 1618. 1633E.
Stuart, Bernard. in Συνωδία (Cam. 1637).
Stuart, James. in Cantabrigiensium Dolor (Cam. 1625), Epithalamium (Cam. 1625).
Stuart, John. in Συνωδία (Cam. 1637).
Synserf, George. 1617E. 1618.
Synserf, Thomas. 1617E. 1618.
Thomson, George. A. 1599.
Turnet, Patrick. C.
Udny, Alexander. C.
Uduart, Nathaniel. 1599.
Udward, Nicholas. 1617E. 1618.
Vaus, John. in Hector Boece, Episcoporum Vitae (Paris, 1522).
Wallace, Michael. A. 1618. 1633G.
Wallace, Robert. in Jo. Johnston, Heroes (Leyden, 1603).
Wallace, Thomas, 1635F.
Wallace, William. 1618. 1633G. 1635F.
Watson, Robert. 1635F.
Wedderburn, David. A.C. 1618. 1618E. 1623. 1633M. 1634. 1635F. 1635M. in Jo. Johnston, Consolatio Christiana (Leyden, 1609).
Wedderburn, James. 1617S. 1618.
Wedderburn, William. 1603.
Wedderburn, William (of Aberdeen). C. 1623. 1634.
Weemys, James. C.
Weemys, John. C.
Wilkie, James. C.
Wilkie, Robert. C.
Wilkie, Robert. 1603. 1618.
Williamson, Robert. C. 1617S.
Wilson, Florence. B. in Pii Graves atque Elegantes Poetae (Lyon, 1544).
Wilson, Michael. C.
Wilson, Silvester. C.
Wilson, Thomas. C. in Pa. Adamson, Poemata Sacra (Lon. 1619).
Winzet, Ninian. in Jo. Leslie, Historia (Rome, 1578).
Wishart, George. 1635F.
Wood, Andrew. 1617S. 1618.
Young, Andrew. C. 1617E. 1618.
Young, John. in Epicedium (Cam. 1612).
Young, William, in Iusta Oxoniensium (Oxf. 1612).
Yule (Julius), Alexander. A.C.